

# THE MILITANT

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY/PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

## Miners fight for union rights

—PAGES 2, 3



Militant/Lou Howort

HARRISBURG, Pa., March 28—More than 10,000 marched here, led by a contingent of striking miners, in labor-sponsored demonstration against nuclear power, for jobs, and in support of United Mine Workers.

## Rail unions call march on D.C. April 29

—PAGE 11

## Trial opens in socialist suit

By Harry Ring

NEW YORK, April 2—The government went on trial here today for its illegal acts against the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance.

In an opening statement, Margaret Winter, chief counsel for the SWP and YSA, emphasized that decades of intensive surveillance had not produced a shred of evidence of illegal activity by the socialists. The sole justification for the government spying and disruption against them, she declared, was to combat advocacy of socialist ideas.

U.S. Assistant Attorney Peter Salsbury said the government will argue it had been authorized to "investigate" the SWP by Franklin D. Roosevelt, subsequent presidents, and federal statutes.

Farrell Dobbs was the first witness to take the stand for the SWP and YSA. Under examination by Winter, the veteran SWP leader explained how the workers' struggle against capitalist exploitation would lead to a socialist transformation. The former Teamsters leader and national secretary of the party stressed that socialism could



NEW YORK, April 2—Socialist plaintiffs, supporters, and attorneys at federal courthouse on opening day of trial of U.S. government.

only be achieved by a majority.

At a noon press conference on the courthouse steps, SWP National Secretary Jack Barnes issued a statement declaring, "In our trial we are fighting not only for our own rights, but for the rights of all working people—the miners now on strike against the coal operators, the people of El Salvador fighting for the right to run their country, and the Americans who do not want another Vietnam."

Joining the plaintiffs was Ring Lardner, Jr., one of the Hollywood Ten imprisoned during the McCarthy period for their opposition to the witch-hunt.

Lardner told reporters that the government's present illegal activities against the SWP and other progressive organizations may well be "an even greater menace" than its "semilegal" tactics of the 1950s.

*Continued on page 5*

## All out for the miners!

By a large majority, the United Mine Workers of America voted to reject the first contract proposal submitted to them.

The big-business media is working overtime to create an image of miners as wild and undisciplined for turning thumbs down on what the press pretends was an eminently reasonable pact.

The miners had good reason for voting no. They won a victory in compelling the coal bosses to drop demands for a seven-day work-week and the gutting of union pensions. But the employers insisted on other provisions aimed at seriously weakening the union.

These provisions were intended to encourage more open-shop mining operations and to weaken the union's power to protect members on the job.

They are part of the nationwide drive by big business to create a union-free environment.

As in the past, the mineowners—the oil, steel, and banking giants—count on government support to ram their antilabor program down the miners' throats.

The UMWA is under attack.

But miners are standing firm. The battle of this powerful industrial union to preserve the basic rights of its members has become the center of resistance to the assault of big business and its government on working people.

Today the miners stand in the way of the billionaires' plans to gut living standards, slash social services, roll back gains won by Blacks and women in their fight for equality, and soften up working people to be cannon fodder in new Vietnams.

The employers and the government need to beat down the miners because they are showing everyone how to fight back.

They led the way in the fight against anti-human cutbacks in social services, taking a two-day holiday from work and marching in Washington March 9 against cuts in black lung benefits.

They led the way forward in the fight against nuclear power and for jobs by helping initiate and build the March 28 Harrisburg demonstration.

Now they are in the forefront of the battle to preserve the industrial unions, the organizational bedrock of American working people.

The billionaires and government who are out to deprive miners of their rights are the same ones who look the other way when Blacks are murdered in Atlanta or Buffalo; who consign millions to joblessness and pov-

erty; who block adoption of the Equal Rights Amendment; and who want to bankroll the bloody junta in El Salvador with money ripped out of Medicaid and food stamps.

The miners' fight for a decent contract is a battle working people need to win.

The unions, the Black and Latino communities, and everyone with a stake in fighting back against the billionaires should move now to support the miners.

Statements of support should be sent now to the UMWA. Coalitions of unions, civil rights organizations, and others can organize rallies, public meetings, and picket lines to support the miners. Educational efforts to get out the miners' side of the story will also be needed.

The miners' fightback spirit is already inspiring others.

The Rail Labor Executives Association, uniting fourteen rail unions, including the United Transportation Union, has called for an April 29 rally in Washington, D.C., to protest cuts in transit funding. And they have asked all who are under attack by the administration's antilabor, racist program to join them.

Miners and other union members, civil rights supporters, the unemployed, women, and youth should all be in Washington April 29.

The miners' March 9 protest in Washington and the March 28 demonstration in Harrisburg generated wide support for the UMWA. It helped convince the energy giants to drop some of their original, more outrageous demands on the UMWA.

Fightback actions like the April 29 rally will not only begin to generate similar support for hard-pressed railworkers and other victims of big-business policies, but can have a big impact in turning back the mineowners' drive to weaken the UMWA.

And victory for the UMWA will strengthen the hand of all working people.

All out for the miners!

All out April 29!

## Lesson of Poland

Faced with a massive display of united action by the workers and their allies, the Polish government has been compelled to back off from its defense of the brutal cop attack on workers and farmers in Bydgoszcz.

It admitted that the beatings by police were unjustified and agreed to punish those responsible. Two deputy governors in Bydgoszcz have tendered their resignations.

The government agreed to stop obstructing the activities of Rural Solidarity, the organiza-

tion of working farmers. It agreed to submit proposals in response to the farmers' demands for recognition of Rural Solidarity by April 5.

And it agreed to form a commission with Solidarity to examine charges of harassment and frame-up of dissidents.

And workers will receive full pay for time they spent participating in a national strike March 27.

The government's retreat placed it at variance with Moscow, which had justified the brutality of the cops.

The union cancelled a general strike scheduled for March 31.

On March 27 Solidarity's ten million members and many others had joined in a four-hour general strike to protest the police attacks and other government provocations.

The approximately one million members of the governing Polish United Workers Party who belong to Solidarity joined the strike, despite a Political Bureau decree barring members from taking part in such actions.

Janina Kostrzewska, a member of the party Central Committee who works in a computer factory, explained that she had joined the strike "even though we were aware we were violating party discipline . . . We are part of the working class. We will never turn against that class."

The Polish government's decision to yield to some of Solidarity's demands was explained by Deputy Prime Minister Rakowski. He stated that it was "impossible to struggle against a movement that has millions of followers."

Kazimierz Cypryniak, a local first secretary of the ruling party, summed it up: "We must know that Solidarity is in the first place the Polish working class itself."

The strike symbolized the refusal of the Polish working people to give up their fight for socialism and democracy, in spite of demands from the Kremlin bureaucrats that they do so. Warsaw Pact troops carried out maneuvers on Polish soil for some weeks.

The conditions in which Polish workers struggle are different in many respects from those we face. Having gotten rid of the outmoded capitalist system, they are fighting to rid their society of bureaucratic misgovernment and repression.

But the "Polish spirit" is by no means confined to Poland. It is showing itself here as well. The struggle of the miners for a decent contract is one example. The potential unity and power of the American workers is no less than that of our Polish brothers and sisters.

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If You Like This Paper...



### Solidarity movement leaps ahead

March 24, the anniversary of assassination of Archbishop Romero, saw tens of thousands participate in actions organized by El Salvador solidarity movement in the U.S. Page 12.

## The Militant

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Published weekly except two weeks in August, the last week of December, and the first week of January by the *Militant* (ISSN 0026-3885), 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014. Telephone: Editorial Office, (212) 243-6392; Business Office, (212) 929-3486.

Correspondence concerning subscriptions or changes of address should be addressed to The *Militant* Business Office, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.

Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y. Subscriptions: U.S. \$24.00 a year, outside U.S. \$30.00. By first-class mail: U.S., Canada, and Mexico: \$60.00. Write for airmail rates to all other countries.

Signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent the *Militant's* views. These are expressed in editorials.

# Why the Mine Workers rejected contract proposal

By Stu Singer

MORGANTOWN, West Va.—The 160,000 members of the United Mine Workers of America have carried out a thorough, democratic discussion of the three-year contract proposal agreed to by the Bituminous Coal Operators Association and the top union leadership headed by Sam Church.

This contract is not only vitally important for miners. It will affect every other working person.

The debate has been made possible by the democratic ratification procedures that were established by the UMWA through a virtual revolution in the union in the 1960s and 1970s. There is no other union in the country where the ranks play such a decisive role in determining the contract.

As this is being written, the miners are on strike. All UMWA-organized mines are shut tight. Some nonunion mines have also been shut down by union pickets, but this is on a smaller scale than has happened in the past or is expected later if the contract is rejected.

## Contract unpopular

The proposed contract is not going over. It's hard to find anybody who likes it. Miners vote March 31.

UMWA President Church has toured the coalfields since March 26, trying to win support for the proposal, which was approved by a narrow twenty-one to fourteen margin by the union bargaining council.

## UMWA votes 'no' by 2 to 1

Union coal miners have exercised their right to vote on the contract. By a better than two to one vote, their answer was a resounding rejection.

According to union officials March 31, near-complete returns from 930 locals showed 67,753 against ratification and 30,838 in favor.

Reporting from Waynesburg, Pennsylvania, *Militant* correspondent Stu Singer reported that Local 2258, organizing workers at the Emerald mine, had voted no by a 305 to 43 margin. The local has 385 members.

This was typical of results in area locals.

UMWA press spokesman Eldon Callan declared: "I'm sure President Church will be on the phone to the mine operators tonight or tomorrow to reopen negotiations."

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Miners' strike, 1978

Miners' concerns about the contract are for the welfare of the union and of all coal miners.

During the first stage of negotiations, before the bosses broke them off March 17, I spoke with miners about the BCOA's takeback demands.

"Peewee," twenty-six, said the seven-day workweek the companies were pushing for was the most important issue.

"I like my weekends off. But the seven-day week is more than a threat to that. It will cut out jobs and lead to favoritism by the companies."

### Longwall mining

"They want the seven-day week in order to operate longwall mining machines," he said. "They are very expensive and produce a lot more coal. They'll produce five times as much coal and use fewer people. And even with the new equipment, the work will be more dangerous."

"There will be more dust from that machine. And if they can run the mines twenty-four hours a day, seven days a week, they'll do even less maintenance on the equipment than they do now. And there isn't enough now."

How would it be used to promote favoritism?

"If the company is determining the work schedules any way they want, they'll have longwall crews working all kinds of overtime while in other parts of the mine they might work three- or four-day weeks. And they're the ones who say where you will be working."

This is exactly what some companies have been trying to do on the six-day work schedule.

Two weeks before the contract expired, this led to the strike at the U.S.

Steel Kirby mine and the walkout of more than 5,000 miners in Pennsylvania and northern West Virginia to support them.

After walkouts in every state where coal is produced, the operators dropped some of the most serious takeback demands, including the seven-day workweek. This was an important victory for the UMWA.

### Scab operations

However, as word got out about the contract proposal, miners realized the companies had slipped in union-weakening provisions.

Miners point most frequently to the threats to the union's share of coal production. There are several points in the contract that allow the operators more leeway in using nonunion coal and nonunion labor.

These points appear in the contract under successorship clause; contracting and subcontracting of transportation and maintenance; construction work; leasing, subleasing, and licensing out of coal lands; and payment of money into the union health and retirement funds by employers, based on tonnage of coal processed from nonunion mines.

On page 2, under the table of contents, there is a large box that refers to the changes, except for the royalty issue. It says previous provisions had to be changed because they were "in violation of the Labor-Management Relations Act of the Sherman Antitrust Act."

### Court language?

The box goes on to explain that the UMWA appealed a finding by an administrative law judge against the union on these points all the way to the U.S. Supreme Court. But the Supreme Court

refused to review the lower court decisions, the explanation continues, so the "language, which has been recommended by the negotiating team for the above clauses, is necessary to make them conform with the decision of the courts reviewing these clauses."

What do these issues refer to?

They make it possible for companies to get rid of the union by changing ownership or control of the mine.

Keith Barnhart of Local 1702 in Blacksville, West Virginia, explained it this way: "All Bobby Brown has to do is transfer ownership of this mine to his mother. Under the new contract, she could lay off all but a handful of miners, and not really operate it for two years. After that, she just hires nonunion workers, reopens, and you've got a scab mine." (Brown is president of Consolidation Coal and chief negotiator for the BCOA.)

In the area of construction work, the new contract allows the operators to hire nonunion companies to do work that had been restricted to UMWA members.

While the above changes are pointed out clearly in the contract language, the royalty issue is not mentioned. It has received a lot of publicity, but does not appear in the contract. The contract proposal only indicates *additions*, not *deletions* from the previous contract. The issue of royalties on nonunion coal is just not mentioned.

You have to carefully read the last contract and compare the wording in that section (XX, d, 1, v) to see that it is dropped.

At a news conference at the Pittsburgh airport March 26, Sam Church contended that the companies have

*Continued on next page*

The 110-Day

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# Strong opposition from largest UMWA districts

By Chris Horner

CHARLESTON, W.Va.—Located in the heart of the state's southern coalfields, United Mine Workers Districts 17 and 29 have traditionally played a key role in union contract ratification votes. District 17 has 20,000 active members and District 29 has 17,500—making them the two largest districts in the UMWA. They are also the birthplace a decade ago of the black lung movement and of Miners for Democracy.

As details of the contract began filtering down to the coalfields, miners here are already voicing concern.

Comments focused on a provision that allows UMWA-organized coal companies to buy and resell non-UMWA coal without paying pension fund royalties. In the 1978 contract, signatory companies paid \$1.90 into the union's pension fund for each ton of nonunion coal purchased.

"All this is going to do is put the scab mines on twenty-four hours a day," said Clifford Martin, president of Local 8454 in Logan County. "If we let the nonunion coal go through the union tipplers, in five years there won't be a United Mine Workers."

Nonunion companies have been gaining a foothold in Logan and neighboring Mingo County recently. Hearing of the provision, Willie Vance, president of Local 5813 in Holden, said, "If that's the case, there ain't no way District 17 will vote for that."

Martin also objected to a provision that establishes a forty-five-day probationary period for new hires, saying it



would allow the companies "to run right over" inexperienced miners.

A provision in the proposed contract deleting a requirement that all construction work at UMWA mines be performed by UMWA workers is also unpopular. The issue is an especially sore point with UMWA construction locals. Their 15,000 members bargain separately with the Association of Bituminous Contractors.

On Friday, March 27, miners in District 17 got their first look at the proposed contract when local officials

gathered in the Charleston Municipal Auditorium for a contract briefing from district officers.

An hour and a half into the meeting, not one local official had risen to speak in favor of the agreement, and discussion had not yet moved off the first of the twenty-four articles in the contract.

Many of the roughly 300 present began walking out of the meeting after a few hours. Some burned copies of the proposed agreement. Those who stayed were so convinced that the contract would be voted down by the rank and

file that they concentrated on giving directions to UMWA bargainers when they resumed negotiations.

District 17 President Jack Perry came under heavy fire for voting in favor of the agreement at the bargaining council in Washington four days earlier.

Said miner Marshall Yeager, "I think Sam Church must be asleep. Jack Perry, you must be asleep too. This will turn the union upside down."

"This agreement is going to cause more suffering than another 111-day strike," said Manuel Ojeda.

"There's nobody at this table here to sell this thing to you," said District 17 Vice-president Cecil Roberts. "We're not up here to force this contract down you one way or the other."

When one miner asked of the nineteen district officials sitting on the stage, "How many of you men would vote for this contract?" not one raised his hand.

As part of his tour of the coalfields to promote the agreement, UMWA President Sam Church spoke on a local two-hour radio call-in show. Miners who called in were polite, but hammered away at the same points they had been discussing all week. Many expressed their intention to vote the contract down on March 31.

And when Church appeared in person in Charleston on the eve of the vote, fewer than 100 miners from District 17's 107 locals showed up to hear him defend the contract. Miners present indicated that most members had already made up their minds to vote no.

## Ala. miners fear contract would spur open shop

By Pat Hayes

BIRMINGHAM, Ala.—Many miners came to meetings held in schools, National Guard armories, and Veterans of Foreign Wars halls in coal-rich Jefferson, Walker, and Tuscaloosa counties, already skeptical about the proposed contract between the United Mine Workers and the Bituminous Coal Operators Association (BCOA).

UMWA District 20 President Charles Fuller reportedly voted against the contract when it was presented to the bargaining council in Washington. He told reporters here that the contract received a mixed reaction from about 300 members of the District 20 local bargaining unit at a meeting Friday in Sumiton, Alabama.

The miners, already wary after hear-

ing news reports that the new contract would allow nonunion coal to be processed at union mines without payment of the \$1.09 per ton royalty to the UMWA pension plan, found that it would also allow BCOA operations to lease mines and coal land to nonunion outfits.

Under the new clause, BCOA operators could shut down union mines in order to lease them to nonunion operators. This is a particularly critical issue in "right to work" Alabama.

The most common reaction at the meeting was, "If we vote for this contract, we won't have a union in a year's time."

Miners from Alabama By-Products' Maxine mine met at the National

Guard armory in Dora, Alabama. Many of the Local 9984 members present were among the 141 miners recently laid off. The mood was the same. They also voiced opposition to the new contract provision that would institute a forty-five-day probationary period for new-hires.

Not all miners opposed the pact. One, who works at Jim Walters Resources No. 5 mine and who did not attend the meeting where the contract was discussed, said, "I'm going to vote for the contract. In these times, this is probably the best contract we can get. Who can afford to stay out as long as we did last time?"

Most miners did attend the meetings. Their opposition to the contract is very vocal. More than two-thirds of Local

7918's 300 members from Jim Walters Resources' Bessie mine in Graysville, Alabama, were present at their contract meeting at an elementary school in Adamsville.

Since nonunion coal is processed at Bessie's new preparation plant, the royalty issue is very important to these miners. Local 7918 went on strike several years ago to bar scab coal trucks from loading at the mine, and the memory of the loss of that strike is fresh.

Many Alabama miners seemed ready to reject the BCOA contract and to fight to win the kind of contract that they want.

As one put it, "We have the power to turn out the lights, and that's just what we'll do to win a fair contract."

## ...contract

Continued from preceding page

avoided paying the royalties anyway.

Church described how Bethlehem, one of the biggest mining companies, would have Bethlehem Shipbuilding Company, a subsidiary, buy nonunion coal and then sell it back to Bethlehem to process.

Church added that other companies said they planned to step up use of the same trick.

But miners aren't impressed. After Church's news conference I spoke with miners at the U.S. Steel Robena mine, south of Pittsburgh, near the West Virginia border. One miner, who was driving out, stopped his car to explain his feelings:

"It may not be that the union has gotten much money from these royalties, but the point is to stop the nonunion coal. What we ought to do is just refuse to work on nonunion coal. And we've got to get moving on organizing the nonunion mines. That's the only solution. The thing about this royalty is by giving it up, we're telling the companies to use all the nonunion coal they want."

Miners oppose other changes in the proposed contract.

This includes a new attendance program, establishing a national attendance policy to replace the separate policies of each company. The proposed national policy is worse than the attendance requirements of a number of major companies.

### Probation period

The probation clause, establishing a forty-five-day period when the company can fire new hires without cause, is also unpopular. Probation is a normal feature of most union contracts, often including much longer probation periods.

But the miners don't want to start with it now, and for good reason. It creates two classes of union members. With the threat of arbitrary firings over their heads, probationary workers could be forced to do dangerous work that would threaten everyone. Speedup could be pushed more easily.

Another takeback in the contract concerns safety rights. Contract language has been added making it more difficult for miners to refuse dangerous work. This is a matter of life and death. Miners want to extend their safety rights, not restrict them.

The gains on the contract are limited, although significant. There is an 11 per-

cent a year wage hike, more than many other unions have been able to get recently.

At his news conference, Sam Church compared it to the giving up of pay increases by the Chrysler workers.

But with inflation going up a rate higher than 12 percent a year, the wage hike will not keep miners apace with inflation. And the miners failed to win their demand to get an escalator clause to automatically raise their wages as living costs increase.

The contract provides small pension increases, but there is still a large gap between pensions for miners who retired before and since 1976. Retired miners will fall further behind mounting inflation.

The pension for miners' widows is long overdue, but \$100 a month is not enough for anyone to live on.

The medical benefits are improved with the new proposed dental plan. Miners have to pay \$2 a month, however, and put up with a \$50 deductible and \$750 a year maximum payment.

### ARB goes, but . . .

Among the gains won in the proposed contract, the one that has the most strings attached concerns the elimina-

tion of the Arbitration Review Board. This body served as an unchallengeable arbiter, sitting on top of the grievance procedure. The union demanded that it be dissolved. ARB decisions were rewriting the last contract in the operators' favor. The proposed contract lets the ARB decisions stand and even gives it another ninety days to do more damage.

These are the issues the miners are talking about.

The discussions go from pointing to these weaknesses to deciding what it will take to get more, and whether it is practical to attempt this.

The contract appears likely to be rejected. The miners will be acting seriously in doing so, committing themselves to the difficult fight that will be required to force a better contract out of the companies.

Lined up against them will be the energy billionaires and the government.

A better contract can be won with massive and organized support from the rest of the union movement, and from the many others who have a stake in victory for the miners. The miners saw an example of what this kind of solidarity can accomplish in the union-organized March 28 demonstration in Harrisburg.

# 'Gratitude for struggle on our behalf'

David Livingston

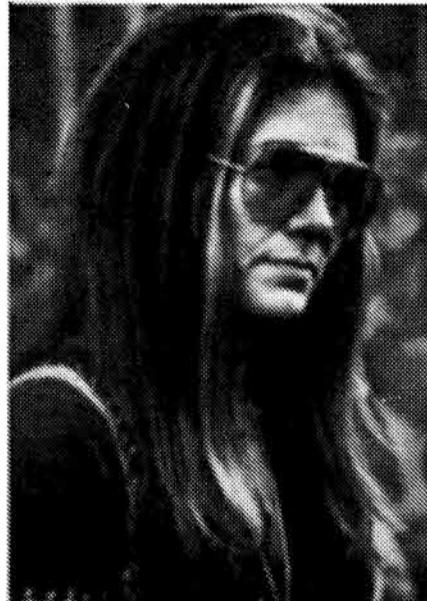
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"Harassing and spying upon political parties and their members places government agencies in direct conflict with the Constitution of the United States. The welfare of every citizen depends on our willingness and ability to vigorously defend our democratic process."

"This is particularly true today, as poor and working people discover, on a daily basis, new reasons compelling us to speak out in protest."

"Police state tactics and oppressive policies go hand-in-hand in all places and times. Likewise, experience shows that democracy is the most essential element in any struggle for

economic and social justice. "Defense of the Bill of Rights is of great importance to all people who cherish the fundamental freedoms which are at the heart of our national tradition."



GLORIA STEINEM

## Gloria Steinem

Editor, 'Ms.' magazine

"The FBI's abridgement of Constitutional rights to political freedom was a potential danger to us all. We

owe the Socialist Workers Party a debt of gratitude for making this struggle on our behalf.

"Since this suit was begun, however, it has become even more important. The FBI and other intelligence organizations of the Federal Government could now be influenced or used by a right-wing administration whose platform contains almost no positions of which the majority of Americans approve in public opinion polls.

"This may be the least supported, and most extremist right-wing administration and President in history. Constitutional controls and safeguards become even more vital, therefore, and this suit against the FBI assumes even more crucial importance to us all."



RONALD DELLUMS

## Ronald Dellums John Conyers Gus Savage

Members, U.S. Congressional  
Black Caucus

"We take the opportunity of the opening of the trial of the *Socialist Workers Party v. Attorney General* lawsuit to express our support for the legal battle for constitutional rights.

"While the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance have been the victims of wiretapping, burglaries, electronic surveillance, and informants for decades, the Government has never indicted

these groups or their members for any crime.

"Yet, in its pretrial documents, the Justice Department has asserted the right to 'investigate' and 'keep itself informed of' the legal political activities of any group or individual. This position threatens the democratic rights of all people in this country.

"In supporting this lawsuit, we are still mindful of the Cointelprograms of the FBI and other government agencies directed against others.

"We join with thousands of concerned voices in calling upon the Attorney General to end all illegal practices against the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance."

that openly advocate revolutionary change . . . even if such advocacy might be within the letter of the law."

### Unpopular argument

But the government recognizes that it doesn't sit well to argue that people can be hounded for mere advocacy of ideas. So it has to resort to political frame-up and rely on reactionary legislation.

Pressed by Judge Griesa to document the crimes it says the SWP and YSA have committed, the FBI submitted a brief drawn up by Special Agent Charles Mandigo.

"The SWP," Mandigo declared, "constitutes the principal Trotskyist organization in the United States, and as such, remains ideologically committed to the violent overthrow of the Government and the establishment of a communist dictatorship."

The government makes this frame-up charge for legal as well as political reasons. It hopes to establish that the SWP is subject to the victimization it has suffered by virtue of such statutes as the Smith Act which bars advocacy of "violent overthrow" of the government.

*Continued on next page*

suit

*Continued from page 1*

The trial is being held at the Federal Courthouse at Foley Square. This was the scene of the Smith Act witch-hunt trials of the Communist Party in the 1950s.

This trial is very much different. The socialists are the plaintiffs, not the defendants. This time the government is on trial.

The SWP and YSA are demanding \$40 million in damages for the illegal acts committed against them by the FBI and other government agencies. They are also seeking an injunction to bar further illegal government activity against them.

They will ask presiding Judge Thomas Griesa to rule that their advocacy of socialism, and their political activity to achieve it, are protected by the Bill of Rights. The judge will be asked to rule that the government can't use the Smith Act or other thought-control

legislation, or government "loyalty" and "security" programs as grounds to spy on or harass the SWP and YSA.

Fundamental liberties are at stake in the trial.

Does the FBI have the right to conspire with employers to fire socialists?

Can the Immigration Service deport, or exclude, people for their political beliefs?

Does the government have the right to plant informers and provocateurs in political parties, unions, Black groups, women's groups?

### Gov't on spot

By zeroing in on such issues, the socialists have put the government between the proverbial rock and hard place.

In pretrial proceedings, the plaintiffs obtained thousands of previously secret government documents confirming much of the illegal activity against them.

Initially, the government tried to

deny such activity. Then, as the facts came out, they responded that these things had happened, but only in the past. This too was proven a total lie. So now the government's only recourse is to argue that it has a legal right to commit such offenses.

It will try to establish that its secret police activity is authorized under the Smith Act, other thought-control legislation, and various presidential orders establishing "loyalty" programs.

The government has gone so far as to assert, in one pretrial document,

*For a more complete explanation of the basic facts and arguments of the SWP/YSA case see text of document submitted to the court. Pages 19-21.*

that it doesn't even have to prove any violation of the law to go after people. The document stated:

"The issue in this case is not whether the SWP, the YSA, or any of their members can be proved guilty of a crime . . . The issue is whether the Government has a right to keep itself informed of the activities of groups

## A special appeal

The courtroom battle now unfolding in the socialist suit against the government represents an important defense of the rights of all.

During the trial—both in the courtroom and around the country—the socialists will be campaigning to get out the ideas the government is trying to suppress.

The 'Militant' will have extensive coverage of the courtroom fight. We are now campaigning to win new readers. Teams of socialists will be bringing the paper to new areas across the country.

Leaders of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance will be speaking at rallies slated during the trial.

What ideas will we raise?

We will champion the cause of the coal miners; build support for the fight against U.S. intervention in El Salvador; support the fight against nuclear power, and against racism

and sexism. We will advocate the socialist alternative—a society run by working people and based on human need.

But we need your help. To finance the significantly escalated activity related to the trial we are raising a \$75,000 Socialist Fund. You can help us get out the ideas the government wants to suppress. Send your contribution to help the fight. Clip the coupon below, today.

Here's my contribution to the Socialist Fund

Name .....

Street .....

City .....

State .. Zip .....

Amount .....

Send to: Socialist Fund, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014

## The fight for freedom is at home

- Money for Jobs, not War.
- Stop Racist Violence from Atlanta to New York.
- Stop the cutbacks. Support the miners.

## Socialist Campaign Rally

WELLS TODD—Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of New York City

SAMORI MARKSMAN—Caribbean Peoples Alliance, WBAI

MARIAN BUSTIN—Member, United Mine Workers Local 2095; victim of FBI and INS harassment

KATHRYN CROWDER—YSA national organization secretary, key witness in socialist suit against FBI/CIA/INS

PONCE LaSPINA—Andrés Figueroa Cordero Foundation

JONATHAN HOUSE—President, Committee of Interns and Residents

SATURDAY, APRIL 11, 7:30 p.m.  
P.S. 41, 116 West 11th St., Manhattan  
Donation \$2.00. Party to follow.

## 'Our parents framed here'

"This court house holds special meaning for us. Here our parents [Ethel and Julius Rosenberg] were framed in a caricature of a trial for 'stealing' the non-existent secret of the atom bomb. Here they were sentenced to death.

"Here the last appeal, six hours after the Supreme Court overturned Mr. Justice Douglas's last stay, was denied by the trial judge minutes before our parents were killed.

"Here the myth that domestic radicals were dangerous agents of a foreign power and thus not entitled to the protection of the Bill of Rights received a significant boost. The false conviction of our parents was the best evidence yet for the view that these radicals should be denied the rights of other Americans.



ETHEL AND JULIUS ROSENBERG

"The trial that opens today should be watched carefully by all of our fellow citizens. It will reveal that once you give government agencies the right to determine who is and who is not worthy of Bill of Rights protections, then they will use that power to protect themselves from public scrutiny and criticism, and seek to rig the political process so that minority views do not get a fair hearing.

"If the nation permits what is revealed at this trial to continue then not only radical groups will suffer and our entire democratic system will be in danger."

**Robert and Michael Meeropol, sons of Ethel and Julius Rosenberg**

## ...suit

*Continued from preceding page*

SWP Political Committee Member Larry Seigle responded, "These laws and orders all attempt to make it illegal to think or speak the ideas of socialism and revolution.

"No one has been prosecuted under these laws for many years because they are so discredited, along with the rest of the McCarthy era. But they are still on the books, and the FBI uses them as legal cover for their illegal acts."

### Astounding revelations

The records obtained from the FBI and other agencies, even though heavily censored, are astounding.

Among other things, they confirm that for years the FBI conducted a Cointelpro disruption operation against the SWP and YSA, with the aim of destroying them.

For instance, it was disclosed that under direct orders from J. Edgar Hoover, the Phoenix FBI concocted an anonymous poison-pen letter to Arizona State University officials in a successful move to get Prof. Morris Starsky, an SWP member, fired.

It got Evelyn Sell fired as an elementary school teacher in Texas.

FBI agents wrote smear letters to publications about SWP candidates.

They even tried to get a New Jersey scoutmaster removed because his wife was an SWP member.

In one six-year period, FBI agents burglarized the SWP national headquarters at least ninety-four times to photograph and steal documents.

To more fully assess the damage done by the government, the SWP demanded files on informers. The government balked. This led to an extraordinary confrontation.

In 1977, Judge Greisa ordered the

FBI to turn over to SWP attorneys the files on eighteen informers.

### Contempt of court

Assuming direct responsibility, Griffin Bell, then attorney general, refused to obey the judge's order. Judge Greisa cited him for contempt of court.

The government took its case to the U.S. Court of Appeals, which handed down an unprecedented ruling. It overturned the contempt citation, saying in effect that the attorney general—the nation's chief law officer—is above the law.

Why did the government go to such extreme and costly lengths to protect its informer files? Not simply because of the additional damaging information they would have provided. Nor, certainly, out of any loyalty to its hirelings. What was at stake for the government was the inviolability of its entire informer system.

The capitalists have always relied on informers as one means of assuring their rule. And today, as the country slides deeper into an insoluble social crisis, they need such things as their informer network more than ever.

The ruling rich are determined to put the burden of the crisis onto the backs of working people, oppressed minorities, and women.

They anticipate, correctly, that this will spark heavy opposition and they want their weapons in place. The capitalists are determined to thwart a workers' fightback—by any means necessary.

This is what makes the present trial so important. By challenging its police-state methods, the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance are making an invaluable contribution toward curbing illegal anti-working-class activity by the government.

## Opening statement of socialists in trial

The following are major excerpts from the opening statement of Socialist Workers Party attorney Margaret Winter in the trial of the U.S. government. The text of the statement was released to the press in advance.

Your Honor, we intend to establish the following facts in the trial of this case.

The plaintiffs Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance have been continuously investigated by the defendant federal officers for a period of four-and-a-half decades.

The defendants' investigations of the plaintiffs have involved a number of covert methods over a period of many years: informers; warrantless electronic surveillance; mail covers and trash covers; burglaries that left no trace; the secret copying and examination of plaintiffs' private correspondence, documents, and records.

These facts will be established through government documents, as well as through the examination of FBI agents.

Through these undercover techniques, and by other more mundane methods, the defendants have thoroughly informed themselves about SWP and YSA plans and activities—not just their public statements and activities, but their internal and private conversations, plans, discussions, and activities.

### What investigation shows

And what did the government learn about SWP and YSA plans and activities over more than forty years of this extraordinary investigation?

We intend to show that the defendants long ago learned two key facts about the SWP and YSA:

First, that the plaintiffs have neither committed nor planned to commit any federal crimes;

Second, that the SWP's and YSA's public statements and views are the same as the statements and views they express and adhere to privately. That the SWP and YSA do not seek to mask their real intentions from the public, as the government claims. But to the contrary, that it is a primary objective of the SWP and YSA, and indeed a major focus of their activities, to make their views fully and publicly known and understood.

Plaintiffs Farrell Dobbs and Jack Barnes will be our first two witnesses.

Farrell Dobbs was a founding member of the SWP. He was its national secretary until 1972.

Jack Barnes has been national secretary since that time. Thus, between these two witnesses, we will span the entire history of the plaintiff organizations, and the entire time during which they have been victims of the conspiracy set forth in the complaint.

### Goals of SWP

Dobbs and Barnes will testify on the nature, goals, and activities of the SWP. What kind of activities do SWP



Militant/Elizabeth Ziers  
**SWP attorney Margaret Winter**

members engage in? What do they advocate? Are they terrorists? Are they planning to commit terrorist acts in the future?

In particular, Dobbs and Barnes will explore the nature of the Fourth International and the SWP's relationship to it. And plaintiffs will answer the question of whether the SWP or the Fourth International seek to hide these facts behind a code of secrecy.

The intensive investigation of the plaintiffs has not resulted in a single federal indictment in forty years. Equally significant, the government has not yielded credible evidence or any ground for reasonable belief that the plaintiffs are engaging or planning to engage in an indictable offense.

Our examination of FBI supervisory Special Agent Charles Mandigo will help to establish this point. Mr. Mandigo had the responsibility of reviewing the files and coming up with a list of any and all crimes or planned crimes included in FBI files on six central leaders of the SWP.

### Only crime

The results of his efforts will establish that the only "crime" the FBI could come up with was the "crime" of advocacy, that is, advocacy of socialist revolution.

We will also submit documentary evidence on "counterintelligence" programs against the SWP and YSA that will show that the FBI, CIA, Immigrat-

*Continued on page 18*

## SOCIALISTS SUE SECRET POLICE

Attend the trial. Show your support.  
Daily from 10 a.m. at the Federal Courthouse,  
Foley Square, New York City

**MEET THE WITNESSES FOR THE SWP AND THE YSA**  
Each Saturday during the trial, 3-5 p.m. Hear reports on the trial proceedings. Find out what socialists stand for. Refreshments.

In Manhattan:  
108 E. 16th St.

In Brooklyn:  
335 Atlantic Ave.

# Story of the Hollywood blacklist

## Trial has 'special interest' for witch-hunt victims

By Steve Bride

It was the morning of October 23, 1947, and you couldn't buy a seat in the Caucus Room of the Old House Office Building in Washington, D.C.

The House Un-American Activities Committee was about to begin its fourth day of investigation into "Communist infiltration of the motion picture industry."

At 10:30 a.m., the committee called its first witness, the president of the Screen Actors Guild:

"As a citizen, I would hesitate to see any political party outlawed on the basis of its political ideology," Ronald Reagan told the committee.

"However, if it is proven that an organization is an agent of a foreign power, or in any way is not a legitimate political party—and I think the Government is capable of proving that—then that is another matter."

\* \* \*

The names below the statement on this page represent a special chapter in American history.

They are among thousands of motion picture writers, directors, actors, and technical assistants who were thrown out of work, beginning in 1947, for their political beliefs.

More than that, they are part of a much smaller group in Hollywood that fought this attack on their rights. For three of them, that meant spending time in jail.

Their statement is in support of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance suit against the government, which has just gone to trial. That suit is aimed at thought-control edicts like those that victimized the signers of this statement and many others.

### The Hollywood Ten

The postwar reaction had begun by 1947. Winston Churchill had given his "Iron Curtain" speech, launching the cold war; Congress, in June 1947, had passed the antilabor Taft-Hartley Act.

But the hunt for domestic radicals—a search that eventually led to a purge of the big industrial unions—really began with the Hollywood Ten.

They were: screenwriters Alvah Bessie, Lester Cole, Ring Lardner, Jr., John Howard Lawson, Albert Maltz, Samuel Ornitz, and Dalton Trumbo; directors Herbert Biberman and Edward Dmytryk (who recanted after serving a prison term); and producer Adrian Scott.

Their credits number some of the most enduring films ever made in this country: *Woman of the Year*, *Algiers*, *Murder My Sweet*, *Naked City*, *Salt of the Earth*, *Lonely are the Brave*, and *M\*A\*S\*H*.

On September 23, 1947, each found a deputy U.S. marshal on their doorstep, bearing a bright pink subpoena, commanding them to "appear before the Un-American Activities Committee."

\* \* \*

The committee had two stock questions, and chairman J. Parnell Thomas had just tried the first one:

"Mr. Trumbo, are you a member of the Screen Writers Guild?"

Dalton Trumbo replied:

"You asked me a question which would permit you to haul every union member in the United States up here to identify himself as a union member, to subject him to future intimidation and coercion. . . ."

"If there were a committee of Congress, all the members of which had voted in favor of the Taft-Hartley bill [as HUAC members had], it might be considered that committee was hostile to labor. . . ."

"This question is designed to a specific purpose. First . . . to identify me with the Screen Writers Guild; secondly, to identify me with the Com-

### Statement from entertainment industry blacklistees

People who collided with McCarthyism thirty years ago have a special interest in the trial of federal agencies for their criminal assaults on the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance. Only a few years ago we had the illusion that we were finally getting somewhere in a long struggle against government repression. Some of us were able to work again in fields where we had been blacklisted, and there didn't seem to be any repeat performances of the kind we had been through.

Then came the revelations about how the FBI, CIA and the rest had been operating against movements for social change right through the 1960s and 1970s, making it clear that nothing had changed except tactics. The emphasis in the first dozen years after World War II had been on what could roughly be called legal methods: putting some dissenters in prison and publicly exposing others in order to make them unemployable. The emphasis since that time, we now know, has been on clandestine, flagrantly illegal acts calculated to discredit, disrupt and destroy the organizations that displeased our semisecret police.

A successful prosecution of the guilty agencies and individuals is the only way to protect law-abiding Americans from a lawless government.

Jean R. Butler  
Howard Dimsdale  
Robert Lees  
Gale Sondergaard Biberman  
Ring Lardner, Jr.  
Maurice Rapf  
Walter Bernstein  
John Wexley  
Ben Barzman  
Earl Robinson  
Val Burton  
Martin Ritt  
Alvah Bessie  
Karen Morley  
Lloyd Gough  
Lester Cole

Alfred L. Levitt  
Sarah Cunningham  
John Randolph  
Edward Eliscu  
Janet Stevenson  
Ned Glass  
Waldo Salt  
Madeline Lee  
Jack Gilford  
John Henry Faulk  
Paul Jarrico  
Jeff Corey  
Ossie Davis  
Ruby Dee  
Lionel Stander

investigator Robert Stripling began by asserting that the Communist Party was "the agent of a foreign government."

Stripling then put the second stock question to Bessie. Was he a member of the CP?

Bessie said the question violated his right of free association.

"Mr. Bessie," Stripling shot back, "you are charged with being a Communist. I didn't notice anywhere in your statement that you denied that charge" (emphasis added).

So it was out.

The ten would later be indicted and jailed for contempt of Congress. But the real charge—membership in or agreement with a radical organization—would be used as the ideological basis for the witch-hunt.

\* \* \*

Their last encounter, in 1947, had ended suddenly:

THE CHAIRMAN: Leave the witness chair.

MR. LARDNER: I think I am leaving by force.

THE CHAIRMAN: Sergeant, take the witness away.

Now, in the summer of 1950, Ring Lardner, Jr., stared across the jailyard at the "weary, perspiring man whose path across the quadrangle was about to meet mine. . . ."

"He was custodian of the chicken yard at the Federal Correctional Institution, Danbury, Connecticut, and his name was J. Parnell Thomas, formerly chairman of the Committee on Un-American Activities of the House of Representatives."

At about the time the ten lost their final appeal from the contempt conviction, Thomas pled guilty to padding a government payroll with no-shows and pocketing their salaries.

\* \* \*

Numerous committees sprang up to defend the ten. A group of Hollywood celebrities journeyed to Washington to attend their hearing. These included Lauren Bacall, Humphrey Bogart, John Huston, Gene Kelly, and Jane Wyatt.

Huston had organized a Committee for the First Amendment. Other members were Henry Fonda, Katherine Hepburn, John Houseman, Myrna Loy, and Gregory Peck.

### The witch-hunt ends

Their efforts were not enough to save the ten, nor to erase the blacklist that was to drive radicals from the ranks of the broader labor movement.

That task fell to newer generations. Young Blacks inspired by revolutions in Africa, students willing to denounce the insanity of nuclear war—these were the forces that brought the blacklist, the witch-hunt, and McCarthyism down to destruction.

By January 1960, when Otto Premerger announced he had hired Dalton Trumbo to adapt *Exodus* for the screen, he was only signaling the official end of something that had already ended in fact.

It is widely recognized that the rulers of this country are trying once again to create a climate of fear not unlike that of 1947. But their efforts come not in a time of rising reaction, but at the outset of the radicalization of American labor.

It is in this context that the fight against thought control has been extended through the suit of the SWP and YSA.

By their statement, the victims of the earlier blacklist have lent their support to this fight.

And by their actions thirty years ago, they helped make such a fight possible.



Members of the 'Hollywood Ten' in Washington for HUAC hearings. Left to right: Alvah Bessie, Albert Maltz, Samuel Ornitz, Herbert Biberman, Ring Lardner, Jr., Lester Cole, and Edward Dmytryk (who later recanted). Also indicted for refusing to cooperate with HUAC were Dalton Trumbo, Adrian Scott, and John Howard Lawson. Bessie, Cole, and Lardner are signers of statement supporting SWP and YSA lawsuit.

munist Party and thereby destroy that Guild."

Over the two weeks of HUAC hearings, Trumbo and the others distinguished themselves as the "unfriendly ten" witnesses, refusing to answer questions regarding their political or union activities. Their stand contrasted starkly to that of movie moguls Jack Warner and Louis B. Mayer, who cheerfully turned over every name they

could think of. With the help of such "friendly witnesses" as Robert Taylor, Gary Cooper, and Ronald Reagan, they and other producers went on to implement a sweeping movie industry blacklist.

### The real charges

But the stubborn resistance of the ten was enough to make clear the true motives of HUAC.

The moment came during the testimony of Alvah Bessie. Committee Chief

# WHAT IS THE SMITH ACT?

By Nelson Blackstock

Nobody had predicted it. But virtually on the eve of trial an obscure, forty-year-old law surfaced at the center of the case of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance against the United States government political police apparatus.

The name of the law is the Smith Act. The government recently began raising it as the basis for its actions against the SWP and YSA.

What is the Smith Act? Let's start by quoting the substance of it:

*"Whoever . . . advocates, abets, advises or teaches [or]*

*"Whoever . . . prints, publishes, edits, issues, circulates, sells, distributes, or publicly displays any written or printed matter advocating, advising or teaching the duty, necessity, desirability or propriety of overthrowing or destroying any government in the United States by force or violence. . . ."*

*"Shall be fined not more than \$20,000 or imprisoned not more than twenty years, or both. . . ."*

*Smith Act  
Passed by Congress  
June 22, 1940*

Now read this:

*"Congress shall make no law . . . abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press. . . ."*

*First amendment  
U.S. Constitution*

If words have any meaning at all, the Smith Act is unconstitutional on the face of it. Or so it would seem.

Yet, the robed justices of the highest court in the land have figured out what is beyond the grasp of us mere mortals. On more than one occasion they have decreed the Smith Act constitutional.

There is, however, a method to their madness. It is the method of class rule.

In a society divided on class lines—in which one rules over and lives by the labor of another—there are some ideas that at times cannot be allowed to be voiced.

That is why sedition laws, such as the Smith Act, have been passed.

Sedition laws normally only come to the fore when class tensions are highest—in times of war or revolution.

When passed in 1940, the Smith Act was the first peacetime sedition law since the Alien and Sedition Acts of 1798.

## Alien and Sedition Acts

The story of these laws is an infamous chapter in American history. A Federalist-controlled Congress passed them as a measure to suppress radical sentiments, inspired in part by the new French Revolution.

The Sedition Act forbade both "uttered" words and "malicious writing . . . against the government of the United States. . . ."

Under it, cases were brought against four major newspapers, as well as some lesser ones. Three elected officials were indicted.

In Massachusetts, opponents of the law erected a liberty pole on which they inscribed the slogan: "No Sedition . . . downfall to the Tyrants of America." One of those responsible spent two years in prison.

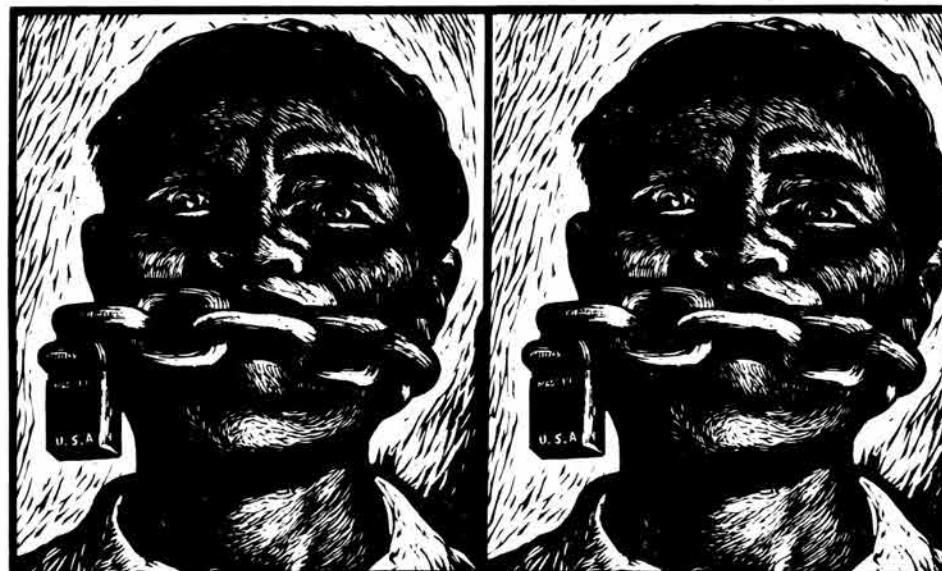
When they were debating the bill in Congress, one speaker predicted, "The country will swarm with informers, spies, delators and all the odious reptile tribe that breed in the sunshine of a despotic power."

The words were prophetic. Almost two hundred years later we can see how a similar measure, the Smith Act, has given rise to a "reptile tribe" of government spies and informers.

Thomas Jefferson vigorously opposed the Sedition Act. It was a major factor in the defeat of the Federalists in the 1800 elections, and the following year it was repealed.

Interestingly, like Marxists today, Jeffersonian supporters of the French Revolution were accused of being agents of un-American foreign powers.

So deep was the outrage against the



**In a class-divided society some ideas can be so powerful that the rulers are compelled to outlaw them. The socialist suit defends the right to voice such ideas.**

Alien and Sedition Acts, it was more than a century before anything comparable was passed.

## Seditious abolitionists

Beginning around 1830 thought-control measures began to appear on state law books in the South. They were aimed at opponents of slavery. Just as socialists today propose to get rid of the system that allows the capitalist class to rule, the abolitionists wanted to do away with the institution on which the power of the planter class rested.

In Alabama it was against the law to "proclaim to our slaves the doctrine of universal emancipation." In Virginia you could go to jail for a year for "speaking or writing . . . that owners have no right of property in slaves." In Louisiana you could be sentenced to death for engaging in conversation "having a tendency to promote discontent among free colored people, or insubordination among slaves."

Before 1830, slave owners didn't have much need for such laws. But as the abolitionist movement grew, the threat to their class rule became real.

Like the rulers today who brand their opponents advocates of violence—"terrorism" being the current charge—slave owners invariably termed abolitionist ideas "incendiary."

The purpose of such charges, with the "force and violence" business in the Smith Act, is to portray the victims of injustice as bloodthirsty conspirators—thereby taking attention off those really responsible for violence in society. The aim of all these laws—from the Alien and Sedition Acts on—is to provide the rulers with a means to silence any and all critics when they decide they have to.

Even after the defeat of the planter class in the Civil War, some of this legislation remained on the books. One of these laws was used to prosecute a Black Communist party member, Angelo Herndon, in the 1930s.

## World War I

Since World War I, the American ruling class has had increasing difficulty working up much enthusiasm among the population for its wars. Even that war provoked wide opposition.

To meet the challenge, Congress passed the Espionage Act of 1917. The next year they passed an amendment, sometimes called the Sedition Act.

The original act, only partly having to do with espionage in the normal sense, was aimed at resistance to the draft.

The amended version prohibited "saying or doing anything with intent to obstruct the sale of United States bonds." As well as barring "uttering, printing, writing, or publishing" anything "intended to cause contempt . . . as regards the form of government of the United States . . . or the flag."

The government engineered some two thousand prosecutions under this law.

It became against the law to say that taxes were a better means of raising money for the war than selling war bonds.

On June 30, 1918, Eugene V. Debs was arrested for giving a speech against the war fourteen days earlier in Canton, Ohio. He was indicted, convicted, and sentenced to ten years in prison under the Espionage Act.

In his address to the jury, he said, "Isn't it strange that we Socialists

**'Isn't it strange that we Socialists stand almost alone today in upholding and defending the Constitution of the United States?'**

*Eugene V. Debs,  
at 1918 sedition trial*

stand almost alone today in upholding and defending the Constitution of the United States?"

They used the law to ban from the mail periodicals that didn't toe the war line.

The Sedition Act was repealed in 1920. But some two-thirds of the states passed their own sedition laws between 1917 and 1921. Many were similar to a New York law passed in 1902, later the model for the Smith Act.

A 1918 law called for deporting any non-citizen who advocated the overthrow of the government. It remained on the books and provided the basis for the Palmer Raids of 1920, in which some 4,000 suspected "aliens" were rounded up, and many deported.

## Smith Act passed

The rulers passed the Smith Act when they were getting ready for the next big war. It was first proposed by Howard H. Smith, a segregationist congressman from Virginia.

Also known as the Alien Registration Act, one provision requires non-citizens to register with the government once a year.

When it was first passed, the SWP said, "The 'alien' bugaboo is the most useful disguise which the reactionaries now have for adopting measures against the labor movement."

To send a message to the working class and others, the government started by charging and convicting the people who were speaking out most clearly and forcefully about how this was not the workers' war. Eighteen leaders of the SWP and the Minneapolis Teamsters spent from one year to eighteen months in federal prison.

The Supreme Court refused to hear an appeal of the convictions.

In 1943 the government indicted thirty pro-Nazis. But, not being as troubled by them as they were by the labor leaders, they dropped the charges.

Unlike the Sedition Act of 1918, which came off the books after the war, the Smith Act was set up to remain for peacetime use.

The next victim was the Communist Party. It started on July 10, 1948, when twelve CP leaders were indicted. Before it was over, 141 CP members would be indicted and twenty-nine would go to prison.

During the SWP trial in 1941, the CP denounced the victims as "fifth columnists," meaning agents of fascism. Later, many CP members and ex-members regretted this stance. As former *Daily Worker* editor John Gates wrote, "This failure [to defend the SWP] returned to haunt us; it demonstrated that we were for civil liberties when it applied to our own rights but not in the case of our opponents."

"As a result, many people who believed that the Smith Act was unconstitutional, nevertheless did not support us."

## 'Not absolute'

The government had not bothered the CP during the war. As Stalinist leader William Z. Foster explained in his history of the American CP, the court had in fact ruled in a deportation case in 1943 that it could be concluded the CP "desired to achieve its purpose by peaceful and democratic means."

The Communist Party's politics hadn't really changed when the indictments came down. But the world political situation had. The wartime alliance with the Soviet Union was over, and the American ruling class was now waging the cold war. The American CP got caught in the middle.

When the first CP convictions reached the Supreme Court in 1949 they were upheld.

Even more revealing than the ruling upholding the law, was the dissenting opinion filed by Justice William O. Douglas.

Over the years, many civil liberties advocates have idolized Douglas as an uncompromising champion of freedom. His words in this opinion, however, show him to be a man whose highest loyalty was to the state the high court is there to serve.

"The freedom to speak is not absolute," Douglas wrote, "the teaching of methods of terror and other seditious conduct should be beyond the pale along with obscenity and immorality."

This passage confirms the socialist opposition to any form of censorship. The rulers use these laws to justify banning the views they're more concerned about—views hostile to their class domination.

While the climate in later years led the court to strike down the bulk of obscenity statutes, the Smith Act remained.

Douglas didn't object to the convictions on free speech grounds. Rather the heart of his argument was that the CP was too weak to pose a real threat at the time. Moreover, he voiced satisfaction that, "It is safe to say that the followers of the creed of Soviet Communism are known to the FBI; that in case of war with Russia they will be picked up overnight."

Later, between 1957 and 1961, the high court handed down new rulings on further CP convictions. While still upholding the Smith Act's constitutionality, the court put limits on how it could be used. This made it more difficult to get convictions, discouraging the government from launching the new prosecutions.

By 1961 the country had changed greatly from the witch-hunt days of the early 1950s. The civil rights movement was growing. The Cuban Revolution had taken place. These facts influenced how both the court and the government could act.

Meanwhile, in 1956 the Supreme Court had ruled state sedition laws unconstitutional, saying such legislation must be left up to the federal government.

The court also overturned municipal sedition statutes. A Birmingham law, for example, fined a communist \$100 and 180 days in jail for each day spent in the city. A communist was defined as anybody found in a "non-public place" with a member or ex-member of the Communist Party.

In 1963 three Young Socialist Alliance members in Indiana were indicted under a state sedition law. Like some others, it had been passed in the witch-hunt era and modeled on the Smith Act. A strong defense of the three did a lot to put the still new YSA on the map. In 1964 a state judge ruled the law unconstitutional. When the state supreme court reversed the ruling, the YSA went into federal court to get the law thrown out. The local prosecutor later dropped the case.

#### Still alive

If the Supreme Court had not ruled as it did on the Smith Act, it's a safe bet public opinion would have forced them to get rid of it altogether. The ruling created a misconception, as they hoped it would. It became common wisdom among people who knew anything at all about such things that the Smith Act was now dead.

But, as the socialist suit has now revealed, it remained quite alive.

The court decisions limiting its use at present turn on very fine legal points. When the rulers decide they need to crank up the Smith Act again, the courts can easily adjust their interpretations to make that possible.

For the time being they want to keep it out of sight.

When forced to justify their "surveillance" of the socialists, the government cited the Smith Act—as well as several related measures. These include the McCarran Act (which sets anti-communist restrictions on immigration), the Voorhis Act (which restricts associations between Americans and revolutionaries in other countries), and various presidential orders establishing a "loyalty program" in government and private industry.

Although the government has not prosecuted a single socialist in forty years, they say they have to keep members of the SWP and YSA under "surveillance" to see if they might be violating any of these laws.

If the socialist suit has proven one thing in the more than seven years since it was filed, it is that there is no such thing as passive, neutral spying. Inevitably, it becomes a weapon of disruption and harassment.

Not only is the government not ready to invoke the Smith Act now, they don't even want to talk about it.

They wanted desperately to settle the socialist suit out of court. Their strategy has been to get out-of-court settlements in such suits, and they've been fairly successful in this. But, if you look at what these settlements say—such as the proposed settlement of a suit brought by victims of government harassment in Chicago—you find that the government is not actually giving up anything. In fact, they are gaining something—court sanction, along with the endorsement of some of their victims, for what they've been doing all along.

Similarly, the highly-touted new FBI guidelines merely provide official approval where there was once none.

Over the years, the socialists have succeeded in exposing what the government did—the illegal break-ins, the Cointelpro plots, etc. Now they are exposing why they do it—the underlying legal, and extra-legal, foundation of class rule.

In court they are asking the judge to rule it unconstitutional to use the Smith Act, or related measures, as the basis for operations against the socialists.

They're fighting both for themselves and for millions of other victims or potential victims.

# 'Reagan shooting product of capitalist violence,' says SWP

The following statement was released March 30 by Andrew Pulley, Socialist Workers Party candidate for president of the United States in the November 1980 election.

The shooting of President Ronald Reagan, his press secretary, James Brady, and two guards is another product of the violence and hatred spawned by the decaying capitalist system in this country.

The U.S. government is in the hands of the most bloodstained ruling class in history.

Washington is pouring in arms and "advisers" to prop up the junta in El Salvador, which has butchered more than 10,000 workers, peasants, and religious figures over the past year alone.

The same government that incinerated Hiroshima and Nagasaki is spending billions upon billions of dollars each year on new nuclear weapons that can annihilate humanity.

The CIA has admittedly plotted the assassination of Cuban President Fidel Castro for years. The government has engineered a massive cover-up of the assassinations of Black leaders Malcolm X and Martin Luther King.

#### Belonged to Nazis

The racist and antilabor policies of the U.S. rulers and their government agencies encourage stepped-up violence by cops and by rightist scum. John Hinckley, the son of a wealthy oil executive, was arrested in the Reagan shooting. He had been a member of one of these ultra-right-wing outfits—the Nazi Party of America.

Last year, an all-white North Carolina jury acquitted a gang of Klansmen and members of the Nazi Party who had gunned down five antiracist demonstrators while television cameras rolled.

On the very same day that Reagan was shot, the body of the twenty-first victim of racist murders in Atlanta was discovered there.

Reagan himself has been a prime contributor to the bigotry and downright meanness that breed such violence.

He has proposed slashing funds for food stamps, Social Security, and black lung benefits, to name just a few social programs vital to working people—while simultaneously escalating the military budget to historically unprecedented levels.

Reagan's outspoken opposition to busing gives encouragement to the racist mobs that hurl stones at schoolchildren and victimize Blacks on the

streets and in their homes.

The bipartisan offensive against the working class and unions goes hand in hand with stepped-up antilabor harassment and violence by cops, company security guards, and hired thugs.

As usual, the government will attempt to use the shooting of Reagan as another justification to beef up the FBI and other police agencies and further trample on political rights.

But the cops and spies are a major source of terrorism and violence in this country not the solution to them.

#### Murder with impunity

Recently, for example, FBI Director William Webster publicly stated that it is within the department's "guidelines" for undercover agents to commit murder with impunity! As an example of "informant" activity that would be protected by the FBI guidelines, Webster cited FBI informer Gary Rowe's role in the racist murder squad that gunned down civil rights activist Viola Liuzzo in 1965.

Hinckley, in fact, fits the profile of the type of person the FBI and local police agencies rely on for their informers against Black groups, unions, socialists, and other dissenters from government policies. Many of these finks are recruited from rightist outfits like those Hinckley hung around with.

Documents have proven that the U.S. Military Intelligence and Chicago police "Red Squad" actually funded and armed a rightist group called the Legion of Justice in Chicago. The cops even stood watch while these thugs carried out violent attacks on the SWP and other groups in 1969 and 1970.

Violent attacks continue against the SWP and many other organizations. Beginning in December, for example, SWP members, candidates for public office, or headquarters in eleven cities have been the targets of firebombings, gunshots, vandalism, or bomb threats.

This kind of activity, which violates the most fundamental constitutional rights of every resident of this country, is what the SWP is fighting through our lawsuit against the FBI and other federal cop agencies. Findings in the case, which is going to trial this week, have already proven that such violent attacks are among the many aspects of what the FBI delicately calls "surveillance."

A recent government document submitted as part of this lawsuit asserts the "right" to conduct "surveillance" against anyone the authorities choose!

Racist attacks, violence, and undemocratic practices are not the policies of just one individual politician, political party, or government agency. They are not an aberration. The tiny hand-

ful of bankers and businessmen who rule this country, and the Democratic and Republican parties that serve their interests, *must use* these practices to preserve their profits, property, and political rule.

Violence will only come to an end when capitalist robbery and misrule have come to an end. That is what the Socialist Workers Party is fighting for—an end to imperialist militarism, racist oppression, and the whole inhuman system that puts profits above people.

But the SWP does not believe that the interests of the working class can be realized through acts of political terrorism or assassination. Opposition to these methods has been a basic tenet of Marxism since its inception.

"Political terrorism, like suppression of political freedom, violates the democratic rights of all Americans and can only strengthen the forces of reaction," explained Farrell Dobbs, then SWP national secretary, at the time of the assassination of President John Kennedy in 1963.

"Political differences within our society must be settled in an orderly manner by majority decision after free and open public debate in which all points of view are heard."

The kind of society the SWP is seeking to achieve can only be established when the American working people have replaced the current government of warmakers, racists, and union-busters with one that represents the interests of the vast majority.

A workers government would open the road to a socialist society free from violence, a society based on human solidarity and collective effort.

## Attacks on SWP in San Antonio

By Steve Marshall

SAN ANTONIO—As this city's April 4 election nears, right-wingers have stepped up their attack on the Socialist Workers Party campaign of Tony Prince for mayor.

Windows were shattered at the party's campaign headquarters March 25 and 27.

Then, on March 28, a public forum on the Nicaraguan and Salvadoran revolutions was interrupted by the sound of breaking glass. Another window had been broken by a metal bolt.

At a March 26 news conference, Prince denounced the attacks and demanded police protection for his campaign.

## Indiana killer cop exposed as Nazi

By David Cahalane

INDIANAPOLIS—One or more members of this city's police force are members of the American Nazi Party, admitted Mayor William Hudnut and police chief Joseph McAtee March 27.

In just a few days the known scope of Nazi Party involvement in police and city jobs has widened. The news is hard to contain.

On March 30 law enforcement officials identified patrolman Wayne Sharp as a member of the Nazi Party. On March 13 Sharp gunned down twenty-nine-year-old Richard French in an alleged attempt to rob a bank.

But this was not the usual at-

tempted bank holdup. French was a well-known Black paralegal worker from the Legal Services Organization. He was no friend of the city prosecutor or police. His reputation was that of an ex-offender who fought hard on the side of the victims of "criminal justice."

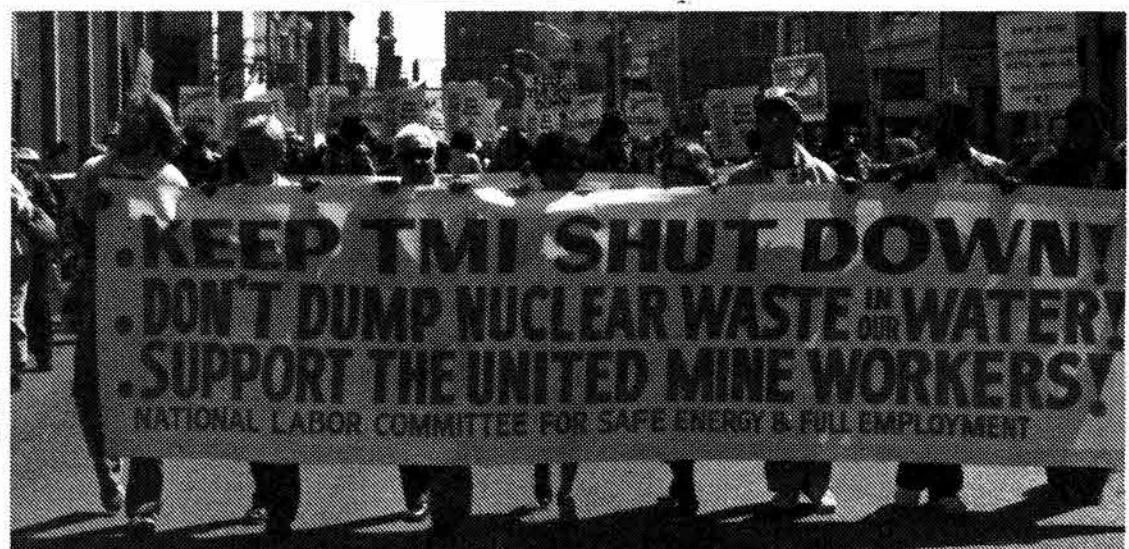
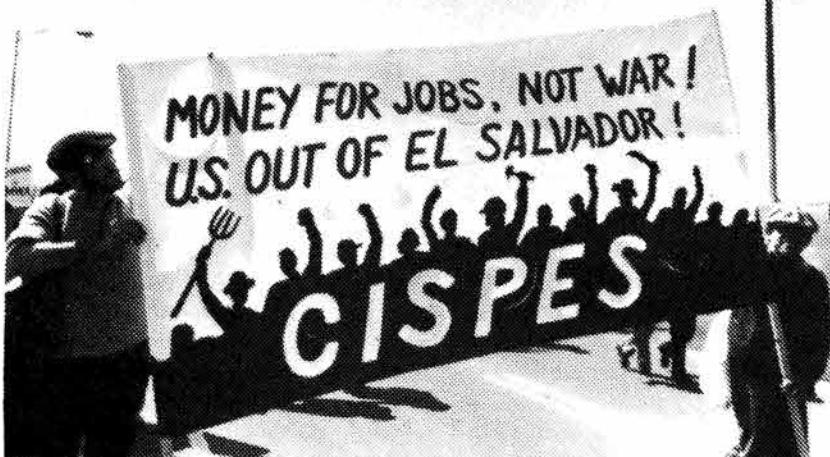
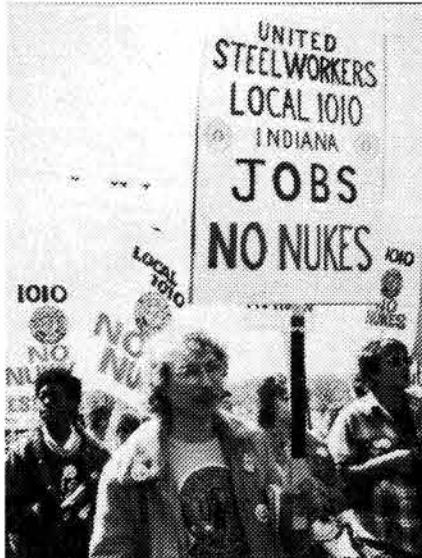
On the day of the shooting, an alarm at the Midwest National Bank went off accidentally, according to police reports. Patrolman Sharp arrived on the scene and drove into the parking lot of another bank across the street. French, on his lunch break, was walking by. Sharp claimed he ran and drew a gun. French was shot at least three times in the back and

killed, without firing the gun Sharp claims he had.

Friends and co-workers of French, who was studying to become a lawyer, challenged Sharp's claim that the victim had a gun. But Sharp was exonerated on March 25 by the Police Firearms Review Board.

The Legal Services Organization decided to launch its own investigation and sought public support. Norman Metzger, the organization's executive director, explained that "we're just simply after the truth."

He pointed out that reasonable people might have some doubt about the police department's ability to investigate itself.



Militant photos by Osborne Hart and Lou Howort

## By Suzanne Haig

HARRISBURG, Pa.—With a contingent of several hundred miners in the lead, thousands marched through the streets of this city to the steps of the state capitol on March 28, the second anniversary of the near-meltdown at the Three Mile Island nuclear power plant a few miles away. Estimates of the crowd size ranged from 10,000 to 15,000 people.

Behind the miners came row after row of steelworkers, machinists, furniture workers, members of public employees unions, rail workers, and other union contingents. They were followed by residents of the area, environmentalists, opponents of the draft, women's rights organizations. Many carried signs and banners and chanted slogans demand-

ing "No more Three Mile Islands! Jobs for all! Support the miners!"

Sixty UMWA construction workers from District 2, Local 1646, dressed in bright orange union jackets made for the occasion, carried signs reading "No fuel like an old fuel: coal," "No nukes, coal power is number one," and "Energy the United Mine Workers way."

A contingent organized by the Coalition Against Registration and the Draft marched under a banner proclaiming, "You can't blow up the world with coal."

The march was sponsored by the Labor Committee for Safe Energy and Full Employment, along with ten international unions and the National Education Association.

Just before the action, the Railway Labor Executives Association, repre-

senting fourteen rail unions with one million members, threw its support behind the demonstration.

## March on D.C., April 29

On behalf of the RLEA, Don Sweitzer, International Legislative Representative of the Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks, invited everyone to join the railroad workers in Washington, D.C., on April 29. They have called for a national protest on that day against Reagan's proposed cuts in vitally needed mass transit.

The labor demonstration challenged efforts to reopen the Three Mile Island power plant. Jerry Gordon, coordinator of the Labor Committee for Safe Energy and Full Employment, explained, "Met Ed [the utility that operates TMI] is hell

bent to get its nuclear operation going again." He said the chamber of commerce here had demanded that Unit 1, the undamaged reactor, be restarted. "The operators want to dump 700,000 gallons of radioactive water in the Susquehanna River, where thousands get their drinking water. Reagan has also announced that the budget for nuclear power will be increased.

"But today," Gordon continued, "there is a powerful new force on the scene. Today the safe energy wing of the American labor movement is entering the struggle. And we'll stay in the streets until the nightmare is ended and a safe energy future is won."

Solidarity with the miners pervaded the action:

"Without the miners' participation,

## Labor meeting hails unions' call for D.C. protest

### By Suzanne Haig

HARRISBURG, Pa.—Two hundred trade unionists, along with local residents and individuals from several antinuclear groups, came to an informal meeting here of the Labor Committee for Safe Energy and Full Employment, March 29, to discuss future activities.

Their spirits were buoyed by the success of the rally the day before against nuclear power, in defense of the miners, and for jobs for all.

Donald Sweitzer, International Legislative Representative of the Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks, addressed the gathering, representing the Railway Labor Executives Association. The RLEA consists of fourteen rail unions, including the United Transportation Union.

Sweitzer had spoken at the rally and invited participants to join with rail workers in a march on Washington, April 29, to protest proposed cuts in the budget for Amtrak and Conrail.

"Our industry will be destroyed if the cuts go through," he said. "The Reagan administration is attempting and is so far successful in splintering up the opposition to his program. We have to try to stick together in this fight and go against everything going on in Washington as a group."

He said BRAC had sent out letters urging participation in April 29 to all rail unions, and that the railway division of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers had also endorsed the action.

People discussed reaching out to public employees, teachers, transit workers, and others who have a stake in supporting this action.

The sense of the body was to go all out to support and build April 29 in all the unions.

Tom Twomey, director of the United Mine Workers Coal Miners Political Action Committee (COMPAC), said the absence of UMWA president Sam Church at the rally "in no way means

that the commitment of the miners has diminished to support the Labor Committee for Safe Energy and Full Employment."

Church had been scheduled to speak, but was replaced by UMWA treasurer Willard Esselstyn. Church and the UMWA membership, Twomey explained, were involved in contract discussions prior to a vote.

"Each member has to sit down and evaluate the contract before they vote. That's the strength of the union," he said.

Jane Lee, a farmer who lives near Three Mile Island, received a standing ovation from the meeting for her work and determination.

"Two years before the accident," she said, "I bet only ten people in this area were against nuclear power. I was alone. Look at us now. Look at yesterday."

"That's just the beginning. We have a long way. It's not just nuclear power that we have to fight, but the destruc-

tion of organized labor that we have to address."

Earl Keihl, director of United Furniture Workers District 4, said, "When someone needs help—whether it's the environment, civil rights, or labor—we have to help in the future."

Reports were given on upcoming activities, including:

- A southern California conference on safe energy and full employment, April 11, at the United Teachers Auditorium, 2511 West 3rd St., Los Angeles.

- A labor conference in Boston, May 16, place to be determined.

- A May 2 planning meeting for a Maryland, Virginia, and D.C. labor conference.

- An April 6 meeting in Chicago to report on the Harrisburg march, at the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union, 333 S. Ashland.

For further information, contact the Labor Committee for Safe Energy and Full Employment, 1536 16th St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036. (202) 797-2371.

help, leadership, and mobilization," Gordon declared, "we never could have had a demonstration like the one we're having today."

"Whatever happens in the days to come," Gordon said, referring to the miners' upcoming vote on a proposed contract, "in your fight for decent conditions, health and safety on the job, and decent wages and benefits ... you, brother and sister miners, can always count on us in the safe energy movement to give you all the help and assistance we are capable of giving."

#### 'Miners are with you'

Willard Esselstyn, UMWA treasurer, was received enthusiastically. He pointed to the miners' record as the first union to oppose nuclear power.

"If the billions of dollars poured from the national treasury into the pockets of the nuclear power profiteers had gone for alternative power research, we could long ago have harnessed the sun, the wind, and the tides."

"We in the United Mine Workers of America stand committed with you to stop the spread of nuclear power now. It will not be easy. The corporate profiteers will mount a slick campaign against us ... But we're a determined bunch. And all of us working together can determine that the chorus of our voices will be heard throughout the land."

William W. Wimpisinger, president of the International Association of Machinists, challenged the nuclear industry's claim that reactors provide jobs. "So do heroin, prostitution, pornography and advertising. Highway accidents and airline crashes provide jobs." What are needed, he said, are useful and safe jobs for workers in the nuclear industry. He also called for workers to have the right to refuse to work with cancer-causing substances.

#### Coal, not nukes

The miners demand that coal be substituted for nuclear power *now* until other safe energy sources can be developed. The United States has sufficient reserves of coal to meet its needs for 400 years.

The miners' solution to the nuclear power danger was widely supported. The UMWA distributed blue buttons calling for "Clean coal, not nukes," which were proudly worn by hundreds of demonstrators."

David Walp, who works for Argo, making turbines for power plants in Berwick, Pennsylvania, told the *Militant*, "Nuclear power is dangerous and financially not worth it. We should never have gotten off of coal."

"They are building a nuclear power plant in Berwick right near the largest anthracite vein in the world, right in the middle of the coal region. It just doesn't make sense."

"It's the coalition of the big businesses, the oil companies, and the government out to rip off the small people."

They've been getting away with it, according to Walp, because "labor has not been united. If it were, it would be the biggest force in the country. Reagan thought the vote meant that people wanted things his way. But people just didn't want Carter."

#### Jobs for all

Participants shared many common concerns. The rally began with a moment of silence in sympathy with the families of Black children slain in Atlanta. Many marchers wore green ribbons in solidarity with Atlanta's Black community and to protest the murders.

In denouncing nuclear power, speakers also stressed the demonstration's demand that jobs be provided for all through a shorter workweek with no reduction in pay, and a massive public works program.

Jane Perkins, coordinator of the Greater Harrisburg Labor Committee and Secretary-Treasurer of Local 668, Pennsylvania Social Services Union (SEIU), told the crowd, "We must now demand that technological advances be-

nefit workers in this country and provide more jobs—not make profits for the corporations.

"We need more mass transit systems, schools, hospitals, daycare centers, senior citizens rest homes, and other things that people need."

"No worker in this country should have to choose between working in a hazardous cancer-causing job or joining the ranks of the unemployed."

Perkins concluded: "We thought here in central Pennsylvania that our government would protect us. Well, it's time to wake up to recognize what our brothers and sisters are learning in Poland right now. Our protection is our solidarity with each other."

Former congresswoman Bella Abzug was loudly cheered when she said, "The real threat to our security comes from the oil trusts, the military, the Pentagon, and the Reagan government ... The same crazies that brought us the war in Vietnam are now talking about limited nuclear war and war in El Salvador."

"As feminists, as women," Abzug continued, "we are sick and tired of being the particular victims of a society that doesn't care about us, about the generations we create, about the health effects to us because we are more susceptible to cancer."

#### 'Battle lines drawn'

Jane Lee, a farmer from the Harrisburg area, captured the anger of the crowd when she said, "Mr. Reagan and his wife, who spent \$10 million on an inauguration, \$10 thousand on an inaugural gown, \$1 thousand for a pair of shoes, tell us there's not enough money in the coffers and they are going to have to cut back social programs and everything that is for the benefit of the people, while we promote nuclear power and the oil industry."

"Today," Lee went on, "the battle lines are clearly drawn. Labor vs. the multinationals, the DuPonts, the Morgans, the Rockefellers, the Mellons, the multinationals who seek to hold sway over our lives and who have money heavily invested in nuclear power all over the world."

Mike Olszanski, the head of the environmental committee for District 31 of the United Steelworkers, stated to the rally: "The next step, I submit to you, based on the failure of the Democratic Party to represent working people is to organize ourselves as an independent political force. The issue today is survival. We can't afford one more Nixon, one more Carter, one more Reagan. We have to have our own real political party."

Other speakers included Dr. Helen Caldicott, Physicians for Social Responsibility; Victor Gotbaum, director of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, District 37; James Farmer, executive director of the Coalition of American Public Employees; and Merle Hansen, vice president of the United States Farmers Association.

For many, environmental scientist Barry Commoner summed up the message of March 28. He told the thousands of participants:

"From this day forward, the environmentalists, the antinuclear alliances will march side by side with the unions. And the unions are going to march with us."

"Today we marched with the miners, the machinists, the steelworkers, the railroad workers, the teachers, and the furniture workers on Harrisburg."

"I promise you that on April 29, we will march with the railroad workers on Washington. And the next time the black lung victims go to Washington, I promise you the environmentalists and the antinuclear alliances will be there too."

"And, as I hope they will, when the school kids come to Washington with their empty lunch baskets, we'll be there too."

"Reagan is complaining that the special interests groups want to whittle away his economic package. He hopes to defeat us one by one. One by one, maybe he can. But he won't be able to defeat us together. ... Let us all start here in Harrisburg to march on Washington."

# Rail unions call April 29 demonstration in D.C.

HARRISBURG, Pa.—Donald Sweitzer of the Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks addressed the March 28 demonstration here and invited the thousands present to join rail unions in a march on Washington on April 29.

The march has been called by the Railway Labor Executives Association, an organization of fourteen rail unions.

The action was called to protest

I am here on behalf of fourteen railway unions representing over a million railroad workers in this country. On behalf of those people and Fred J. Kroll, who is the international president of the Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks, I extend to you and to this demonstration the good wishes and support of the men and women who work on the railroads in this country; the men and women who run the trains and who haul the coal that you mine workers mine.

We run those trains and we want to run more of them. This cause is our cause. This cause is our cause and we are pleased to be here with you today. We will be with you any other time that you gather for this purpose.

The accident which began two years ago at Three Mile Island dramatically demonstrates to all the world that nuclear power has dangerous potential.

This country's policy and the Reagan administration policy of support to the nuclear industry must be turned around. We must, through demonstrations such as this and by emphasizing our right to speak out on such subjects, dramatically point out that nuclear power is not safe.

The only way that we can oppose nuclear power, the only way that we can oppose the Reagan budget cuts that would destroy the nation's railroad system, is for us to particularly stand out in demonstrations such as this. These demonstrations bring awareness to the public of what the Reagan administration is doing in relation to nuclear power and also the

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the Reagan administration's proposal to reduce federal funding for the Conrail line next year and eliminate funds altogether after that. The cuts would threaten the jobs, wages, and working conditions of tens of thousands of Conrail employees.

Sweitzer also stressed the need for unity between rail unions, the miners, and the antinuclear movement. The complete text of his speech appears below.

transportation industry in this country, especially in the Northeast.

In that connection I am here to invite every single person who is here today to come to Washington for another demonstration on Wednesday, April 29.

This is a march on Washington of railroad workers to point out to this administration that we will not stand for the cuts in the railroads that this country so sorely needs.

We invite all of you to appear because we are all in this together.

We must fight nuclear power together.

We must fight the Reagan budget cuts together.

Therefore, on behalf of the 14 Rail Labor group and on behalf of Fred J. Kroll, the chairman of that group, I invite all of you to assemble with us at 11 a.m. in front of Union Station, symbolic of this industry. In front of Union Station in Washington, D.C., for a march to the Capitol of this great nation.

And to join together and point out to these Reagan people that we will not stand for this alliance with nuclear industry in this country. That we will not stand for the shutdown of the railway industry in this country. I invite you all on April 29.

Let me thus finish by saying that we are happy to be allied with this group. The nuclear energy industry in this country has been too long coddled by the federal government. It must stop, and it will stop with demonstrations like this.

We must take to the streets.

# 20,000 protest move to close Boston schools

By John Rees

BOSTON—About 20,000 angry teachers, parents, and students gathered at the state house steps here March 28. They came to protest the devastating impact of cutbacks being carried out in the name of Proposition 2½.

Placards with gallows and banners with guillotines expressed the grim theme of the demonstration as speakers denounced the cutbacks. The demonstration was initiated by the Massachusetts Teachers Association (MTA) and supported by other unions of public employees.

Participants at the demonstration were elated by the turnout. Placards from many towns reflected the statewide participation of teachers. Demonstrators wore green ribbons in solidarity with the Black community in Atlanta.

Proposition 2½ was adopted by a large margin in a referendum vote last November, with heavy backing from big business. It calls for annual reductions in property taxes to bring them down two and one half percent of assessed value, and reductions in automobile excise taxes. Supporters of the proposition rarely mentioned that big business would be the prime beneficiary, or that public services were to be gutted.

With such deceptive advertising, the proposition won support, since Massa-

chusetts property taxes place a heavy burden on homeowners.

But since the passage of Proposition 2½, its real purposes have become clearer.

In town after town, and especially in the older cities, massive cuts in budgets for education and other social services have been imposed.

Boston's government now proposes to close twenty-seven schools and all branch libraries. Plans have been announced to lay off 300 teachers and 300 firefighters. The MTA estimates that 15,000 state teachers will be laid off.

At the state house rally, Dr. William H. Hebert, executive director of MTA, declared the people of Massachusetts want real tax relief, not cuts in public services.

He drew an enthusiastic response when he asked that new taxes be imposed on high technology industries that supported Proposition 2½.

"If they could afford to steamroll the campaign for proposition 2½, they can afford to give their fair share of aid in taxes to the commonwealth."

Many Democratic and Republican politicians have also decried 2½. Their response is to propose an expanded sales tax and other local taxes. Few have sided with the unions that organized the rally here in demanding new taxes on big business and that the two and one half percent limit on property taxes apply only to private homes and not business property.

## Commemorate archbishop's murder

# Tens of thousands join Salvador protests

By Nelson González

The movement in solidarity with the people of El Salvador took a big step forward in March.

Tens of thousands participated in actions called for by the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES) on March 24. The protests commemorated the first anniversary of Archbishop Romero's murder. Romero was an outspoken opponent of U.S. aid to the junta.

Some activities took place prior to the target date, such as the Salvador solidarity conference in New York on March 21, which drew 1,500 people. On March 24, about 300 people in New York City participated in an outdoor rally at the main Marine Corps recruiting station.

In Washington, D.C., 800 marched and staged a vigil, 400 participated in a prayer service, and a total of 600 people attended two rallies held in the evening.

In Chicago, 700 people protested at the federal building, and 300 rallied in the evening.

On March 21 in Cincinnati, 650 people marched downtown to the federal building. The next day, 250 participated in a prayer service. On March 24, an interfaith membership service drew 250.

Baltimore held a memorial mass on March 24 that drew 750 people. At Notre Dame University in Indiana on March 23, 500 marched and 700 attended a mass in commemoration of Romero's death. Over 400 attended a similar service in Albany, New York.

Two hundred or more people participated in March 24 actions in Dallas; Manchester, New Hampshire; Los Angeles; San Francisco; Milwaukee; Phoenix; San Antonio; Indianapolis; West Lafayette, Indiana; Detroit; Ann Arbor, Michigan; and Providence, Rhode Island.

Smaller actions took place in Bloomington, Indiana; Wilmington, Delaware; Columbus, Ohio; and Kansas City.

If the latest Gallup poll showing that 98 percent of Americans oppose sending U.S. troops to El Salvador is any indication, a lot more protests are on the way.

## 5,000 in Boston

By John Moriarty

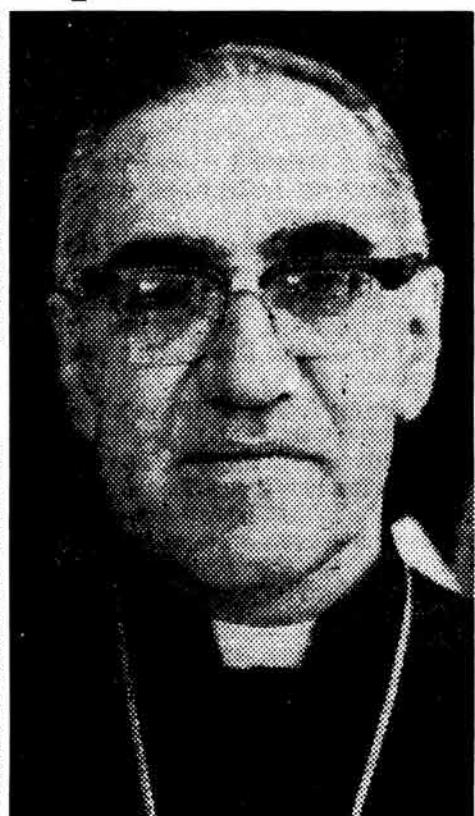
BOSTON—Five thousand people marched through downtown Boston March 21 in one of the biggest protests yet against U.S. intervention in El Salvador. Labor, Black, and Latino organizations participated, as well as the numerous Salvador solidarity organizations that are springing up on campuses all over Massachusetts.

More than a week of events built up to the massive march.

When Roy Prosterman, a key consultant from the CIA's American Institute



Protests like this one in Seattle show growing opposition to U.S. aid to El Salvador junta. March 24 protests marked anniversary of slaying of Archbishop Oscar Romero, right.



Militant/Jim Levitt

## CISPES calls April 18 actions

By Margaret Jayko

The Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador has targeted April 18 for the next round of national activities to protest the Reagan administration's intervention in El Salvador.

April 18 is the first anniversary of the founding of the Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR) of El Salvador.

From April 18-24 CISPES will be sponsoring national tours of three leaders of the FDR in thirty to forty cities.

In New York City, the April 18 Coalition on El Salvador is building an emergency demonstration to demand U.S. out of El Salvador! No more Vietnams!

In Los Angeles, the April 18 CISPES-sponsored rally will be hosted by Ed Asner, well-known actor and star of the television series "Lou Grant." For more information on April 18 activities in your city and the tours of the FDR leaders, call CISPES in Washington, D.C., at (202) 887-5019.

for Free Labor Development, was here March 12, a candlelight march of 2,000 demanded an end to U.S. intervention in El Salvador.

The following day more than 500 people attended a symposium where they heard Alejandro Bendaña, Nicaraguan delegate to the United Nations; Joseph Sullivan, representing the State Department; Arnulfo Ramos from the Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR); and Sister Margarita Navarro from the Human Rights Commission of El Salvador.

When the State Department representative said that he agreed that for fifty years El Salvador had been saddled with dictators but that the current junta was progressive, the audience broke out in laughter.

The enthusiastic reception given the other speakers clearly indicated where the sentiments of the crowd lay.

The following week, a teach-in on El Salvador at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology drew 300 people.

On March 18, Salvador solidarity activists organized a march of 1,500 through the Amherst campus of the University of Massachusetts to the town common. There were twenty-seven sponsoring groups for the action.

## Labor solidarity

Labor's involvement in opposition to U.S. backing of the Salvadoran junta is rising.

A February 21 meeting in Los An-

geles, billed as an evening of solidarity and protest for El Salvador, featured Joseph Kanute Burke, consul general to North America from Grenada.

Speaking on the same platform and expressing the same sentiment were David Arian, district council secretary-treasurer, International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union; Humberto Camacho, an international representative of the United Electrical Workers; and Chris Gillepsie, a district officer of the United Steelworkers of America.

More than forty trade union leaders have signed an open letter addressed to President Reagan urging that the people of El Salvador be allowed to determine their own destiny.

In Detroit, Jeff Stansbury, a member of the staff of Solidarity House, the international headquarters of the United Auto Workers union, spoke at the March 23 commemoration of Archbishop Romero's murder.

In St. Louis, a recent advertisement protesting U.S. intervention was signed by William Hall, international vice-president of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union, and by the director of International Association of Machinists District 837.

In Gary, Indiana, endorsers for a March 24 action included Alice Bush, business representative, Hospital Employees Union 1199, and Alice Peurala, president of United Steelworkers Local 65.

On March 19, the film *El Salvador: Revolution or Death* was shown to fifty people in Indianapolis at a meeting of the Marion County United Auto Workers CAP Council.

# Why antidraft meeting voted to call off May 9

By Joel Britton and Joanne Kuniansky

HARRISBURG, Pa.—Some 300 antidraft and El Salvador solidarity activists met here March 28 and voted to cancel plans for a May 9 march on Washington. The May 9 action had been called by a national antidraft conference of 1,200 in February in Detroit, sponsored by the Committee Against Registration and the Draft (CARD).

The decision here was taken after it became clear that the forces supporting a May 3 march on Washington had broadened and that a serious discussion was being held on changing the character of the action. The original May 3 call by the People's Anti-war

Mobilization for a "march on the Pentagon" had aroused fears of a confrontationist action that would result in needless victimization.

According to a leaflet distributed to participants in the anti-Three Mile Island demonstration on March 28, the new coalition organizing the action is the People's Anti-War Mobilization/ May 3 Coalition.

Its "unity steering committee" includes the following from the Ad Hoc May 3 Unity Committee: the U.S. Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador, Mobilization for Survival, SANE, War Resisters League, Fellowship of Reconciliation, American Friends Service Committee, Puerto Rican Socialist Party, Progressive Stu-

dent Network, Unitarian Universalist Association, and a staff member of the National Committee Against Registration and the Draft.

The leaflet reported that "other groups who participated in the unity process and support joint action on May 3 include: Clergy and Laity Concerned, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, Citizens Party, U.S. Peace Council, Puerto Rico Solidarity Committee, and Dave Dellinger."

The meeting here resolved to determine whether the groups listed had in fact committed themselves to a non-confrontationist action and if so to participate in the discussion on where in Washington the action should be held.

It was recognized that by driving ahead with the call issued by the February CARD conference for a May 9 march and rally at the capitol building, for which a permit had been obtained, Detroit CARD had contributed to the possibility that a more broadly sponsored, non-confrontationist action could occur May 3.

The meeting set a one-week time limit to ascertain the actual sponsorship and character of the action.

Meanwhile, the building of local actions such as the April 4-11 week of events and the April 18 rally at the United Nations in New York City were pointed to as focuses for those opposed to U.S. intervention in Central America.

# 'Militant' thanks donors to Kerry Special Fund



KAROLYN KERRY

By Dave Prince

The *Militant* would like to thank the supporters who pledged \$4,700 to the Karolyn Kerry Special Militant Fund.

These contributions have helped make it possible to expand our coverage of the miners' struggle and the trial of the U.S. government in the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance lawsuit.

The fund was launched in tribute to Karolyn Kerry, a longtime fighter for the working class and leading SWP member, who died in February.

Throughout her life Kerry's political activity was closely identified with the *Militant* newspaper, from sales on the San Francisco waterfront in the 1930s to her eight years as *Militant* business and circulation manager.

Thus far, \$3,389 has been collected from pledges. We urge others who have made a pledge to pay as soon as possible. Contributions should be sent to: Karolyn Kerry Special Militant Fund, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.



Campaigning  
for new  
readers

## The 'Young Socialist' tells how to fight back

By Etta Ettlinger

Several thousand were sold at events in solidarity with the people of El Salvador.

Hundreds more at demonstrations demanding that those responsible for the racist murders of Black youth in Atlanta be found and brought to justice.

To high school students around the country.

To coal miners protesting Reagan's cuts in black lung benefits.

And to young steelworkers, coal miners, machinists and other workers on the job.

Wondering what this hot item is?

It's the *Young Socialist* newspaper and it's getting into more and more hands every day.

Six thousand were sold in the first two months of this year—2,000 more than the goal adopted at the national convention of the Young Socialist Alliance.

This includes sales of our special January issue, which came out in response to the escalation of U.S. involvement in El Salvador and the demonstrations demanding Martin Luther King's birthday be made a national holiday.

As Reagan outlines his plans to cut everything except the kitchen sink and to increase the military budget, young people are looking for ways to fight back.

Reading the *Young Socialist* is one of the best ways to follow the move-



Cover of new April issue

ment against the draft and the revolutionary developments in Central America and the Caribbean. And as the confrontation continues between the coal miners and the coal operators, the *Young Socialist* will present on-the-scene coverage written by young miners.

A subscription is only \$2 for a year. With every subscription sent in using the coupon below, you will receive a free "STOP RACIST ATTACKS" button.

And if you're interested in selling a bundle of YS's yourself, please write to YSA, P.O. Box 471, Cooper Station, New York, New York 10003.

YSA, P.O. Box 471 Cooper Station, New York, N.Y. 10003

- Send me more information about the YSA
- Enclosed is \$2.00 for a one year subscription to the monthly *Young Socialist*.
- I want to join the YSA.
- Send me more information about the YSA tour to Cuba, August 10-17.

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

City \_\_\_\_\_ State \_\_\_\_\_

Zip \_\_\_\_\_ Phone \_\_\_\_\_



Actual size (red, black, and green).

### Harrisburg demonstration

The third week of the spring drive to increase the circulation of the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* got a real boost at the March 28 antinuclear demonstration in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania.

Supporters of the *Militant* fanned out in the large crowd, which included many unionists, selling the issue headlined "Miners show how to fight back."

The result proved to be one of the highest sales recently at a single demonstration.

- 691 *Militants*. In addition, 76 introductory subs were sold.
- 300 copies of the March issue of the *Young Socialist*.
- 371 "Stop Nuclear Power" and "Stop Racist Attacks" buttons.
- \$229.49 in literature sales. Also sold were 101 copies of the pamphlet "What Working People Should Know About the Dangers of Nuclear Power" by Fred Halstead.

Socialists at the action gathered nearly 700 signatures on a petition demanding that the fifteen socialists fired from their jobs at the Lockheed plant in Georgia be rehired.

A reception organized by the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance took place after the rally. Miners, rail workers, auto workers, and many others came to talk and meet DeAnn Rathbun, a member of United Mine Workers Local 1190 and the SWP candidate for mayor of Pittsburgh. Rathbun and SWP Political Committee member Malik Miah gave brief talks to the crowd.

### Single copy drive

The accompanying scoreboard indicates that we are slipping somewhat in weekly sales of the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*. The results of our sales at the Harrisburg march show there are plenty of people out there interested in a socialist newspaper.

With the miners' strike and the opening of the trial in the socialist lawsuit, getting out the *Militant* regularly is even more important. More organization and attention needs to be paid to meeting weekly goals.

—Nancy Rosenstock

### Sales scoreboard

AREA	MILITANT GOAL	MILITANT SOLD	PM GOAL	PM SOLD	TOTAL GOAL	TOTAL SOLD	%
Kansas City	115	174	10	1	125	175	140.0
Milwaukee	90	114	10	14	100	128	128.0
Cleveland	100	117	7	4	107	121	113.0
St. Louis	85	91	0	0	85	91	107.0
Cincinnati	60	63	0	0	60	63	105.0
Iron Range	45	46	0	0	45	46	102.2
San Diego	90	91	10	10	100	101	101.0
Dallas	55	52	35	37	90	89	98.8
Indianapolis	125	126	5	0	130	126	96.9
Seattle	125	115	0	3	125	118	94.4
Piedmont	100	94	0	0	100	94	94.0
Detroit	140	137	10	2	150	139	92.6
Capital District	105	98	5	0	110	98	89.0
Morgantown	110	97	0	0	110	97	88.1
Charleston	30	26	0	0	30	26	86.6
Gary	70	61	5	3	75	64	85.3
Brooklyn	220	195	30	13	250	208	83.2
Portland	70	56	0	0	70	56	80.0
Salt Lake City	100	77	8	7	108	84	77.7
Manhattan	200	117	75	68	275	185	67.2
Washington, D.C.	120	77	30	23	150	100	66.6
Miami	70	50	10	3	80	53	66.2
San Jose	90	79	35	3	125	82	65.6
Atlanta	100	65	0	0	100	65	65.0
Phoenix	110	72	25	15	135	87	64.4
Twin Cities	162	91	3	14	165	105	63.6
San Antonio	70	49	20	8	90	57	63.3
Tidewater	80	50	0	0	80	50	62.5
Pittsburgh	245	150	5	0	250	150	60.0
Los Angeles	215	138	60	26	275	164	59.6
Denver	70	43	10	3	80	46	57.5
Philadelphia	120	71	15	6	135	77	57.0
Toledo	70	34	0	0	70	34	48.5
Birmingham	125	58	0	0	125	58	46.4
Newark	125	54	25	2	150	56	37.3
Oakland	95	33	5	0	100	33	33.0
Baltimore	90	20	0	0	90	20	22.2
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>4,797</b>	<b>3,081</b>	<b>593</b>	<b>265</b>	<b>5,390</b>	<b>3,346</b>	<b>62.0</b>

Not reporting: Albuquerque, Boston, Chicago, Houston, Louisville, New Orleans, San Francisco  
Covers issue #11 of the *Militant* and the second week of issue #5 of *PM*.

## By Fred Murphy

Top officials of the Reagan administration are making the most serious threats against Cuba to come out of Washington since the early 1960s.

Testifying before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee March 18, Under Secretary of State Walter Stoessel pointed to Cuba as the "primary source" of arms for the revolutionary forces in El Salvador.

In order "to stop the flow" of these alleged shipments, Stoessel said Washington had already made "specific plans."

"Including military plans?" Senator Christopher Dodd asked.

"They do not exclude anything," Stoessel replied.

The day after Stoessel's testimony, Secretary of State Alexander Haig appeared before the same committee. He tried to restore the administration's stance of ambiguity by saying that "no decisions have been made." But he also said it would be wrong to exclude the use of military action against Cuba.

Washington, Haig said, is "considering the full range of options" for stopping Cuban support of the Salvadoran rebels.

At the same hearings, Haig charged that in Nicaragua "the extreme left" is in power and has been receiving "sophisticated air defense weapons and possibly tanks" from East European countries.

The day before, at a House Foreign Affairs Committee hearing, Haig had spoken of a Soviet "hit list . . . for the ultimate takeover of Central America." He asserted that "phase one has been completed with the seizure of Nicaragua."

### Ominous new factor

An ominous new factor in Washington's drive against the revolutionary forces in the Caribbean and Central America was brought to light March 12 in the *New York Daily News*. "The Central Intelligence Agency is considering the renewal of cooperation with anti-Castro Cuban exiles," the paper's Washington correspondent Lars-Erik Nelson wrote.

"The planned move appeared to be an attempt to back up the administration's veiled threats 'to strike at the source'—a reference to Cuba's alleged involvement in El Salvador."

Nelson said the plan had "strong advocates within the CIA" but that other officials regarded it as "silly" on the grounds that the exile groups "cannot be controlled."

The *Daily News* article was quickly followed by more detailed items.

On March 15, *Parade* magazine—distributed in the Sunday editions of major newspapers from coast to coast—carried a cover story entitled "How Latin Guerrillas Train on Our Soil." Inside, reporter Eddie Adams described how he was given a guided tour of a sixty-eight-acre "guerrilla 'boot camp'" in southern Florida, "about 20 minutes by car from Miami's International Airport."

Adams found "Cuban and Nicaraguan exiles . . . training and practicing to invade their former homelands . . ."

Correspondent Jo Thomas of the *New York Times* was welcomed to the same camp. According to her March 16 dispatch from Miami, she found "former members of the Nicaraguan National Guard . . . training openly alongside the Cuban exiles in camps in Florida, preparing, they say, for guerrilla attacks on the Sandinists in Nicaragua."

"We're training people not only here in Florida, but in Guatemala, Honduras, El Salvador and Costa Rica," an expropriated Nicaraguan trucking magnate told Adams. "We have training camps in California, too."

Cuban exile Jorge González, who goes by the code name "Bombillo" (light bulb), told Thomas that there are also camps in Tampa and Okeechobee, Florida, and in New Jersey and Los Angeles.

### Armed to the teeth

The Cuban and Nicaraguan paramilitary groups "advertise for recruits over Spanish-language Miami radio stations," Adams reported. "The guerrillas say they're armed to the teeth with an arsenal of weapons that even includes amphibious assault boats."

The notion that these counterrevolutionaries could organize so openly without the knowledge or approval of the U.S. government strains credulity. Nevertheless, one State Department official tried to keep up appearances, telling Adams that "the new administration is not going to turn back the clock 21 years in Cuba or 17 months in Nicaragua and support any exile groups. It's illegal. It's a breach of international law. It's also stupid."

Stupid and illegal it may be, but that never stopped Washington in the past. In the weeks preceding the April 1961 counterrevolutionary invasion of Cuba at the Bay of Pigs (Playa Girón), articles much like those of Adams and Thomas

# CIA threatens new s against Cuba, Nic



For twenty years, CIA has backed armies of counter-revolutionary Cuban exiles. Above, UPI photo of 'Br

appeared in U.S. magazines and newspapers. "In hidden camps south of Miami, small groups of young men . . . drill with rifles and machine guns for a few weeks, then sneak back into Cuba by two's and three's to join guerrilla companies fighting in the hills," a feature in the April 8, 1961 *Saturday Evening Post* said.

"For nearly nine months Cuban exile military forces dedicated to the overthrow of Premier Fidel

Castro have been training in the United States as well as in Central America," Tad Szulc reported in the April 7, 1961 *New York Times*.

Then as now, such activities were in open violation of the U.S. Neutrality Act, which is supposed to bar the organization or promotion of warfare against any nation with which the United States is officially at peace.

But this never stopped Washington. After the

## Radio Havana on CIA, Atlanta,

During the last two weeks, I've listened to Radio Havana as often as I can. They broadcast a half-hour English-language current affairs program between 10:30 p.m. and 11 p.m. Eastern Standard Time every night. The standard format begins with a brief analysis called "Our History." The current news follows. It concludes with "Commentary," an analysis of important current issues.

The "Commentary" programs are very relevant to current issues faced by U.S. workers. Last week, for example, one took up the question

tionary activity everywhere around the world."

After detailing confirmed facts to prove their point, Radio Havana concluded that the CIA would be unsuccessful in their aims: "It may appear that the U.S. is heading towards another 1950s-type McCarthy witch-hunt. But Americans are not letting these crimes go by sitting down, with their arms folded across their chests."

Another "Commentary" blasted Atlanta cops for their unwillingness to find the killers of the twenty Black children in that city.

"Commentary" concluded: "Whether the killings are a racist plot, or committed by lunatics, severe penalties are in order. It's clear that if the victims were children of members of the Trilateral Commission, or of U.S. millionaires, the criminals would immediately be prosecuted to the full extent of the law."

And then it ended by reporting on the spontaneous and massive response of U.S. Blacks, who are demanding that the killers be arrested and punished.

"Our History" shows how the Cubans study history as Marxists, to learn lessons that can be applied today. I was inspired to hear a short analysis of the 1871 Paris Commune. This was the first workers government, and was successful in establishing political and social measures in the interests of the majority—the working people. It was crushed after a little more than two months. But it has been a great inspiration to the socialist movement.

Radio Havana said, "We learned two lessons from the Paris Commune. One is the importance

## As I see it

of literacy, pointing out that Reagan's administration continues to cut public education funds while illiteracy is on the rise in the United States. At the same time, the revolutionary governments of Cuba, Nicaragua, and Grenada are pouring millions of dollars into literacy campaigns so that everyone in those countries will be equipped to participate fully in political and social life.

One week, two of the nightly "Commentary" programs were about the CIA. "The purpose of the CIA," as the program put it, "is to commit crimes all over the world . . . and corrupt people."

"The CIA is a faithful servant of U.S. reaction. . . . So the reason they [the CIA] want more power is clear. The U.S. wants to crush revolu-

# Secret war Uruguay



2506' member training in Florida.

Cuban workers and peasants defeated the Bay of Pigs invasion, the CIA built up a huge station in Miami numbering 600 to 700 actual CIA officers and at least 2,000 personnel in all, including the Cuban exile forces.

The activities of the "CIA's Secret Army" were described in detail in a television program of that name broadcast over CBS-TV on June 10, 1977, and rebroadcast twice this February. (For more on this

## Reagan budget

of internationalism. And second, the importance of destroying the capitalist state."

I think the *Militant* should carry a regular column that would capsulize or even reprint some of these short and educational items of news and analysis.

In addition to news and commentary on current affairs, Radio Havana has a wide range of other programs on its English-language broadcasts—everything from translations of speeches by Cuban leaders to music and various cultural features.

For those interested in listening to these programs, following is Radio Havana's announced timetable of English-language broadcasts to North America:

3:50 p.m. - 4:50 p.m.	9.770 Mhz, 17.750 Mhz
8 p.m. - 11:50 p.m.	11.930 Mhz
8 p.m. - 1 a.m.	11.725 Mhz
10:30 p.m. - 1 a.m.	11.760 Mhz
1:30 a.m. - 3 a.m.	9.525 Mhz

All times are EST.

Atmospheric conditions and jamming can hinder reception. The late evening broadcast on 11.760 and the afternoon one on 17.750 are very easy to hear in the northeastern United States, even on the more inexpensive shortwave portables.

In addition, Radio Havana has broadcasts in various other languages, including round-the-clock broadcasts in Spanish. A program schedule can be obtained from Radio Havana, Cuba, P.O. Box 7026, Havana, Cuba.

—Ilona Gersh

program, see *IP*, July 4, 1977, p. 766.)

The show's producer, Bill Moyers, interviewed one Cuban counterrevolutionary, Rolando Martínez (jailed in 1972 for helping with the Watergate burglary), who personally participated in more than 350 sabotage missions to Cuba from the CIA's bases in southern Florida.

Moyers had this to say about Washington's cover-up of such activities:

The CIA employed all of its traditional methods, but there was no way to hide the operations of more than two thousand American and Cuban agents, with their gun boats, traveling down the coast.

How then did they do it?

They had a lot of help. From the Coast Guard, Customs, the FBI, the Internal Revenue Service, and much of the Miami and South Florida establishment . . .

Nineteen separate police departments had to be enlisted so they wouldn't arrest the gun-toting Cuban agents. Bankers were needed to extend credit to CIA men running phony businesses and using fake names.

Now compare Moyers's report with this paragraph from the "Dissent Paper" on El Salvador leaked by State Department analysts to the press last December:

US intelligence has been in contact with Nicaraguan exile groups in Guatemala and in Miami and is aware of their relationship with Cuban exile terrorist groups operating in the US. Charges that CIA has been promoting and encouraging these organizations have not been substantiated. However no attempt has been made to restrict their mobility in and out of the US or to interfere with their activities. Their mobility and their links with the US—it seems reasonable to assume—could not be maintained without the tacit consent (or practical incompetence) of at least four agencies: INS [Immigration and Naturalization Service], CIA, FBI and US Customs.

### Reagan tries to free hands

The open reactivation of the CIA's Secret Army—now augmented by Somozaists and other counterrevolutionary scum from Nicaragua—comes at a time when the Reagan administration is trying to see how far it can go in freeing its hands for stepped up counterrevolutionary activity around the world.

• The State Department is pressing Congress to repeal the Clark Amendment, passed in early 1976 to expressly prohibit covert CIA activity in Angola. Reagan wants the option of providing aid to the counterrevolutionary, pro-South Africa troops of Jonas Savimbi's National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA). Savimbi is reportedly planning a visit to Washington soon, at which time he will be given an official welcome by Reagan.

• Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger said March 8 that it would be "a useful thing" for Washington to provide arms to rightist Afghan guerrillas operating from Pakistan. In the past U.S. officials have denied supplying such aid.

The next day President Reagan told an ABC News interviewer that he agreed with Weinberger. It was "semantically incorrect," Reagan added, to term the Afghan rightists "rebels."

"Those are freedom fighters," Reagan said. "Those are people fighting for their own country and not wanting to become a satellite state of the Soviet Union . . ."

• Secretary of State Haig has said he sees nothing objectionable about providing arms to Kampuchean exile forces operating in Thailand under the command of mass-murderer Pol Pot.

• And on March 10 the *New York Times* leaked word of a draft presidential order that would authorize the CIA to carry out burglaries, electronic surveillance, and other covert spying activities on U.S. citizens. CIA Deputy Director Adm. Bobby Inman disavowed the document as a "third-level working-staff paper" in Congressional testimony March 13, but similar proposals are under discussion within the Reagan administration.

Whether Washington can actually carry out any of these threats is another matter. There is massive opposition among working people in the United States to the CIA and other secret-police outfits' spying on and harassing Americans or trying to sabotage or overthrow governments abroad. Admiral Inman's quick denial of any plans to unleash the CIA in the United States was one indication that Reagan and company must take such sentiment into account.

### Opposition in Miami

One interesting reflection of this was a March 14 editorial in the *Miami Herald*, the city's leading daily and one with impeccable anti-Castro credentials. "No. Absolutely not," the editorial began. "Under no circumstances should the United States Government, through the Central Intelligence Agency or any other organ, resume the practice of providing arms, military training, or support to anti-Castro Cuban guerrillas."

The editorial was in part a reflection of the concern on the part of capitalist interests in southern Florida about the disruptive role the anti-Castro gangs have played there: "Bombings, extortion, and murders have resulted in the past from the mixing of Cuban-exile patriotism with U.S. weapons and explosives."

But the paper also hit upon a contradiction in Reagan's policies that is going to plague Washington more and more.

"The Administration has seized on international terrorism as a substitute for human rights as the pillar of its foreign policy," the *Miami Herald* said. "It simply cannot ask the cooperation of other governments in curbing terrorism while simultaneously arming guerrillas whose record of terrorist activity is clear in South Florida, Mexico, and other nations."

The same goes for all the other reactionary forces that the U.S. rulers identify with and seek to arm—the Afghan rightists, Savimbi's UNITA, Pol Pot's terrorists, the Salvadoran junta, the Chilean and Argentine dictatorships, and so on.

Reagan's policies will help the American people understand better than ever before where the real terrorists are to be found—in Washington.

—From *Intercontinental Press*

## Learn more about Cuba

### DYNAMICS OF THE CUBAN REVOLUTION

#### The Trotskyist View

by Joseph Hansen \$5.95, \$19 clothbound, 393 pages.

### THE LENINIST STRATEGY OF PARTY BUILDING

#### The Debate on Guerrilla Warfare in Latin America

by Joseph Hansen \$7.95, 608 pages.

### REVOLUTIONARY CUBA TODAY

#### The Record of a Discussion \$5, 136 pages.

### CHILDREN OF THE REVOLUTION

#### A Yankee Teacher in the Cuban Schools

by Jonathan Kozol \$4.95, 245 pages.

### SELECTED SPEECHES OF FIDEL CASTRO

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by Herbert Matthews \$5.95 clothbound, 468 pages.

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#### Cuba, the U.S., and the New Rise of the African Liberation Struggle

by David Frankel, pamphlet, \$75, 32 pages.

Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014. (Include \$75 for postage and handling.)

# L.A.: 'Trial will show true nature of

By Richard Frankel

LOS ANGELES—More than one hundred supporters of the Socialist Workers Party lawsuit against government spying, harassment, and disruption attended a rally here March 14.

"When the trial begins in April, the American public and the world will get a chance to see the United States government in its naked form," Andrew Pulley, 1980 presidential candidate of the SWP, told the audience.

"Much of the world recognizes the true nature of the U.S. government—the people of Iran, the people of El Salvador, the people of Haiti, and the people of Vietnam.

"Now the American people will be able to see that this government, which professes to be the guardian of democracy, is in fact the government committing the most crimes against democracy throughout the world—and is committing serious crimes in the U.S."

Pulley pointed out that the 1940 Smith Act remains on the books.

"The government tries to give the impression that they are protecting themselves against conspirators or terrorists who are trying to organize a coup," he said, "But the U.S.

knows quite well what coups are; they organize coups monthly.

"That's not what we are about," Pulley said. "We are talking about a mass struggle on the part of the working class."

Kevin Leis, a fourteen-year-old Young Socialist Alliance member

children in Atlanta or sent guns to El Salvador.

Max Geldman, one of eighteen members of the SWP who were victimized by the Smith Act and jailed in 1944, was introduced at the rally.

Other speakers were Carol Sobel, associate director of the Southern

**'My junior high vice-principal told me joining a socialist group was illegal. I was disciplined for wearing a Resist the Draft button.'**

—Kevin Leis, Young Socialist Alliance

from Hill Junior High in Long Beach, reported on the blatant abuse of civil rights at his school. He was disciplined for wearing a "Resist the Draft" button.

When he put a copy of the *Militant* next to the *Los Angeles Times* in the school library, the librarian told him it was illegal to oppose the draft.

She sent him to the vice-principal, who told Leis that socialist groups are "violent" and "belonging to a socialist group is illegal."

The rally audience applauded as Leis pointed out that it was not the YSA that killed the twenty Black

California American Civil Liberties Union; Jan Briedenback, field representative of Service Employees International Union 535; John Perez, former chairperson of the Civil Rights Committee of the United Steelworkers of America, District 38, Sub-District 1; and Rebecca Finch, Los Angeles organizer of the SWP. The rally was chaired by Holly Harkness, a member of United Auto Workers Local 148 and the YSA.

Greetings were read from actor Ed Asner; Michael Balter, coordinator of the Citizens Commission on Police Repression; Stephen Fritchman,

# U.S. gov't

minister emeritus of the First Unitarian Church; Henry Gutierrez, director of the Hispanic Urban Center; and Héctor Marroquín, a member of the SWP and YSA being threatened with deportation to Mexico by the Immigration and Naturalization Service.

Rally participants donated \$10,394



toward the \$75,000 lawsuit publicity fund.

Supporters in Los Angeles have already planned a second rally for May 16. Ed Asner, an early supporter of the suit, will be one of the speakers.

## Bay Area: 'No turn to right by working people'

By Caroline Lund

SAN FRANCISCO—Friends and supporters of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance in Oakland, San Francisco, and San Jose held a Bay Area Educational Conference here on March 13-14.

The weekend's activities culminated in a rally for the socialists' upcoming trial against the government.

Jude Coren, who was fired by Lockheed because of her membership in the SWP, addressed the rally. Fourteen other unionists were fired by the company in December and January because of their socialist views.

One of the things Lockheed held against the socialists, said Coren, was their participation in an Atlanta demonstration against the Ku Klux Klan.

"In a city like Atlanta," she said, "where Black children are getting murdered one after another, Lockheed doesn't bother the open racists in the plant. Instead it witch-hunts the people who were trying to fight racism."

Barry Sheppard, co-chairperson of the SWP, spoke about the recent government attacks on Black rights.

"The California Supreme Court

has just rejected the plan for busing for school desegregation in Los Angeles—this is related to the killings in Atlanta," he said.

"General Haig's recent statement that the U.S. should have intervened more decisively in Angola on the

Julius Rosenberg, who were sent to the electric chair after being falsely convicted of "giving the secret of the atomic bomb to the Russians" during the McCarthyite witch-hunt of the 1950s. Meeropol is editor of the magazine *Socialist Review*.

suit is worth it," he said, "is that we have to make every effort to stop them before they get a chance to stop us."

The rally concluded with remarks by Wayne Stilwell, member of International Longshoremen and Warehousemen's Union Local 6, and chairperson of the San Jose Young Socialist Alliance.

More than \$7,000 was pledged to help build support for the suit and to get out the ideas of socialism that the government is trying to suppress.

A series of educational workshops and a spirited rally in solidarity with the peoples of Central America on March 13 rounded out the weekend's events.

Campañero German of Casa El Salvador was given a warm reception at the rally. Other speakers included José Gutiérrez of the Guatemala News and Information Bureau; Lynn Carothers of Casa Nicaragua; Lionel Cuffie of the U.S.-Grenada Friendship Society; and Antígona Martínez of the YSA.

Karen Wald, of the Cuba Resource Group and author of *Children of Che*, and Terry Garnenez, representing the American Indian Movement also spoke.

**'Lockheed didn't like our participation in an Atlanta anti-Klan rally.'**

—Jude Coren,  
fired Lockheed worker

side of South Africa is related to the murderers too."

Opposition to these kinds of government moves is growing. As a sign of the times, Sheppard pointed to the International Association of Machinists local at the giant FMC Corporation in San Jose. The workers at FMC—a plant that produces tanks for the Defense Department—passed a resolution demanding that the U.S. get out of El Salvador.

Also speaking at the rally was Robert Meeropol, son of Ethel and

"Is it worth the time and the money to carry through a suit like that of the SWP and YSA?" Meeropol asked the rally. "I want to try to answer that for myself."

"The new administration is sending more advisors to El Salvador. Some of us have no intention of letting that escalation go further to become another Vietnam. Others are going to try to stop us."

"One of the main reasons that this

A number of important messages of support for the Socialist Workers Party lawsuit were delivered at the St. Paul-Minneapolis suit rally on February 28. Excerpts from some of these messages are listed below.

Dissent is an essential freedom, and the right to dissent needs to be forcefully defended, particularly in light of the jingoistic patriotism of the new right-wing.

Government interference and harassment of political groups like the Socialist Workers Party poses a threat to all political groups, and must be stopped or our political rights will soon disappear.

James Mangan

Manager  
Twin City Joint Board  
Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union.\*

I am deeply concerned that the federal government is so intent on stifling dissent, particularly when that dissent is undertaken in a legal manner.

All individuals and groups, regardless of their political beliefs, must be guaranteed their constitutional rights of free speech, free assembly and due process. To do otherwise would set a dangerous precedent for us all.

Allan Spear  
State Senator  
State of Minnesota

So far even just the so-called "discovery" stage of the SWP suit has been a big victory for democratic rights by exposing illegal government spying and disruption. Hopefully the trial and judgment will mean the beginning of the end of such assaults on our democratic rights.

I think I can speak for the entire UE membership, regardless of our individual political views, in continuing to support the SWP in its suit. A victory for the SWP in this action will be a victory for all American working people.

Joe Miller  
Field Organizer,  
United Electrical, Radio, and Machine Workers of America

## Twin Cities reports growing support for SWP lawsuit

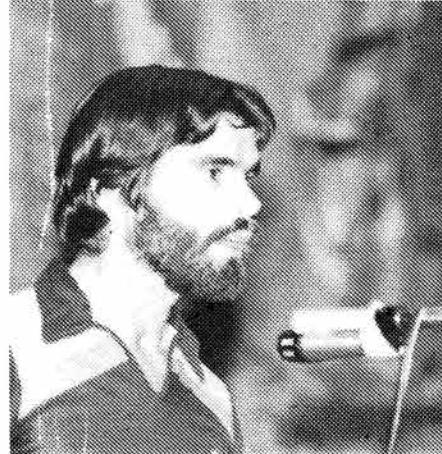
# Detroit: 'Suit showed FBI programs still go on'

DETROIT—More than 125 supporters of the Socialist Workers Party lawsuit against the government held a rally in Detroit's Cobo Hall on March 1. Many came from Toledo, Ohio, to attend the event.

Maceo Dixon, a national leader of the SWP, explained where the case stood as the trial date approached.

Horace Sheffield, president of the Metropolitan Detroit Area Coalition of Black Trade Unionists, told why he thought it was important to support the socialist lawsuit.

"I see a commonality of interests, which should be an unassailably firm one, between the SWP and the



struggle of Black Americans," he said. ". . . we're not going to be diluted and deterred from support of this cause because they [the government] like to pick us off one at a time. . . .

"For we need only remember that three decades ago this nation could stand by while white racists murdered Black men and women because they dared to ask freedom now. And bombed and killed Black children as they kneeled to pray in the house of the Lord.

when she joined a committee to defend Japanese Americans during World War II.

"There is no mistake in my mind that the Moral Majority is now joining in with all of those from the past who are afraid of anyone who questions our socio-economic system," she said.

"And I say to you that our fight today is the same. Our fight is for equality of life for all people. That includes the right to think, the right to share ideas, and the right to

the anti-Vietnam war movement.

"And as the SWP lawsuit has shown, and is going to continue to show, that program has been going on unabated against many political organizations since," he noted.

The antidraft movement is "putting together a movement that challenges what the FBI, the CIA, and the INS are doing and what the whole Reagan administration is doing," Bellant said.

"As we build that movement and continue to make the connections between domestic repression and international repression, the war at home and the war abroad, we will find this lawsuit much more useful for our own political education."

Other speakers at the rally included two lawyers from the Detroit American Civil Liberties Union, Howard Simon and Leonard Grossman; and Tom Olechowski, chairperson of the Poletown Neighborhood Council.

Elizabeth Ziers, a member of United Auto Workers Local 600 and Socialist Workers candidate for mayor of Detroit, chaired the rally. Some \$2,000 was pledged to publicize the socialist lawsuit and the ideas the government is trying to suppress.

**'We are putting together a movement that challenges what the whole Reagan administration is doing. We have important lessons to learn from the SWP lawsuit.'**

**—Russell Bellant, Detroit Committee Against Registration and the Draft**

"And it was not long ago," he continued, "that advocacy of human rights, social justice and yes, even the right of workers to organize, was outlawed. . . .

"We are all in this together."

Maryann Mahaffy, a member of the Detroit City Council, told how the FBI opened a file on her in 1946

engage in activities together in order to educate ourselves and others."

Erma Henderson, president of the Detroit City Council and Councilman Kenneth Cockrel sent letters of support.

Russell Bellant, of the Detroit Committee Against Registration and the Draft, recalled FBI attacks on

# Milwaukee: 'Right to organize vital today'

By Nancy Cole

MILWAUKEE—Leading Black, labor, antiwar, and civil liberties figures spoke or sent greetings to a rally here March 14 in support of the Socialist Workers Party lawsuit against government spying.

More than seventy people attended the event. Mary-Alice Waters, national co-chairperson of the SWP, explained how the lawsuit was exposing the government's use of grossly undemocratic laws like the Smith Act. Roger Bybee, editor of *Racine Labor*, said in a statement to the rally, "In the space of but a few weeks, the Reagan administration has set in motion a series of proposals which will severely cut the standard of living of most Americans and worsen already-growing racial inequality.

"A new wave of popular outrage" is sure to challenge these moves, he said. "A new antiwar movement is already emerging to stop the latest U.S. intervention into Central America."

In her remarks to the rally, Daisy Cubias, a leader of the movement to end U.S. intervention in her native El Salvador, took on one of the defendants in the socialist lawsuit—



the Immigration and Naturalization Service.

Cubias described the INS persecution of Salvadoran refugees in the U.S., people trying to escape the violence of the U.S.-backed dictatorship in El Salvador.

Greetings were read to the rally from the Milwaukee Mobilization for Survival, which organized an antinuclear demonstration in the state capital, Madison, on March 28 in

solidarity with the national march in Harrisburg.

One of the most warmly greeted speakers was Hekima Kenyama, who was released last August after nine-and-a-half years in prison for an FBI frame-up. Kenyama told the story of how his organization, the Republic of New Africa, was targeted by the FBI.

"It was your case that opened up the whole Cointelpro operation for everyone," Kenyama told the rally.

April 4 to demand a holiday on King's birthday.

George Daitsman, a member of the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee and education director for the Allied Industrial Workers, addressed the rally on the issue of the fifteen socialists and members of the Machinists union fired from the Lockheed plant in Marietta, Georgia.

"The union cannot stand still for this," he declared.

A letter from Joseph Gruber to

**'This trial will force the Smith Act, and the rest of the government's arsenal of witch-hunt laws out into the open.'**

**—Mary-Alice Waters, co-chair Socialist Workers Party**

"I applaud you in your effort nationally and locally."

Statements to the rally were also read from Black leaders Howard Fuller and Paul Blackman.

Blackman is president of the 13,000-member A.O. Smith Steelworkers, a union directly affiliated with the AFL-CIO, and chairperson of the Martin Luther King Coalition here. The coalition is sponsoring a march and rally in Milwaukee on

Lockheed protesting the firing was read to the rally. Gruber is executive vice-president of Wisconsin State AFL-CIO, as well as state director of its Committee on Political Education (COPE).

Also speaking were Eunice Edgar, director of the Wisconsin Civil Liberties Union, and Margo Sorsteen, a member of International Association of Machinists Lodge 66 and of the Young Socialist Alliance.

It is important that in our society we preserve the rights of freedom of speech and association, as inherent in our constitution.

To the extent that our government is not held accountable to these principles, all of our rights are threatened.

Good luck to you in your efforts to expose government harassment of your members.

Linda Berglin  
State Senator  
State of Minnesota

I would like to go on record in support of the suit filed by the Socialist Workers Party against illegal acts of repression and injustice by the U.S. government and its agents.

We cannot afford to allow the government to intimidate citizens into inaction and silence through harassment, break-ins, or the violation of any of our human rights.

Stay on the case and please keep our community informed of developments related to this matter.

**Yusef Mgeni, Co-Director  
Malcolm X Pan-Afrikan Institute**

If civil rights, including the right to privacy and freedom from intimidation, are not guaranteed for unpopular groups and causes, they are not guaranteed for anybody.

Good luck to you in your effort to

assure those rights for yourself, and hence for all of us.

**Rick Scott  
Former state chairperson,  
Democratic Farmer Labor Party,  
Minnesota**

The government's campaign of harassment against the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance is unwarranted interference in the personal and private lives of U.S. citizens.

New evidence shows this campaign is not only continuing but being stepped up. A victory against government spying and dirty tricks is crucial for all of us.

Rehire the fifteen fired Lockheed workers. Stop the deportation of Mar-

ian Bustin and Hector Marroquin.  
**Ken Peterson  
State Executive Director  
Minnesota Public Interest Research Group**

The Farmer Labor Association recognizes the importance of defending all progressive forces against oppressive violations of their civil liberties and human rights and therefore extends its firm support to the Socialist Workers Party in this important case.

**Minnesota Farmer Labor Association**

\*Organizations listed for identification purposes only

# Labor behind fired Lockheed workers



Mr. Robert Ormsby, President  
Lockheed-Georgia Company  
Dear Mr. Ormsby:

The right to belong to political organizations as well as to speak freely on political subjects is one of our most cherished rights under the Constitution of our Country.

Your Company, Lockheed-Georgia, has discharged fifteen members of the International Association of Machinists, Lodge 709 for, what it appears to me, as exercising their Constitutional Rights.

As COPE Director (Committee on Political Education) for the State of Wisconsin AFL-CIO, I am asking you to help preserve those rights by reinstating those terminated workers. Thank you.

Sincerely,  
Joseph A. Gruber  
Executive Vice President/  
State COPE Director

March 10, 1981

COALITION OF BLACK TRADE UNIONISTS (CBTU)  
OF WAYNE, OAKLAND, MACOMB, MONROE AND WASHTENAW COUNTIES

The Metropolitan Detroit Area Chapter of the  
NATIONAL COALITION OF BLACK TRADE UNIONISTS  
8670 GRAND RIVER AVENUE / DETROIT, MICHIGAN 48204 / TELEPHONE (313) 894-0303

February 25, 1981

Mr. Robert Ormsby, President  
Lockheed-Georgia Company  
Dear Mr. Ormsby:

I recently learned that on or about December 12, 1980, fifteen members of Lodge 709 International Association of Machinists, who were employees of your Company, Lockheed-Georgia, were unjustly discharged.

It is my understanding that these workers were fired because of their political beliefs. Highly revealing memoranda from your Industrial Relations Department on its surveillance of these employees certainly gives credence to the charge that they were fired because your Company disapproved of their political views.

I find this most shocking and write to register my protest. In the name of justice and fair play, I call upon you to reinstate these workers to their jobs without delay.

Sincerely,  
Horace Sheffield  
President, Detroit Coalition of Black Trade Unionists

## COLORADO FEDERATION OF TEACHERS

118 DENVER LABOR CENTER 360 ACOMA ST. DENVER CO. 80223  
(303) 744 7026

Mr. Robert Ormsby, President  
Lockheed Georgia Company  
Dear President Ormsby,

The Colorado Federation of Teachers recently passed a resolution in support of Chris Hoepner, an employee of yours, whom you fired recently under the pretext of falsifying his work experience.

Apparently, he was fired for his political activities outside the workplace. Evidence also shows that his firing occurred in conjunction with FBI harassment. We understand that Mr. Hoepner was a good employee on the job and gave no cause for firing.

We deplore this treatment of working people. We urge you to reinstate him immediately.

Sincerely,  
Ellen C. Lavroff  
President, Colorado Federation of Teachers

March 17, 1981

## Amalgamated Transit Union LOCAL DIVISION 1338

4120 MAIN, SUITE 211 828-1641 DALLAS, TEXAS 75226

February 16, 1981

The President  
International Association of Machinists Local 709  
Sir:

We are in support of your Local in your fight with Lockheed. We don't believe that any employee should be discharged because of religion, color, creed or political beliefs.

Sincerely,  
B.J. Simmons  
President, Amalgamated Transit Union Local 1338

**Fifteen members of International Association of Machinists Lodge 709 at Lockheed-Georgia have been fired for socialist views and union activities. Above are a few of the protests demanding their rehiring.**

## ...opening statement in trial

*Continued from page 6*

tion and Naturalization Service, and other defendants have not conducted their investigation to enforce the law of the land.

Instead, the defendants have been engaged in a conspiracy, whose explicit purpose has been to silence the plaintiffs, suppress their ideas, and disrupt their activities.

Plaintiffs Morris Starsky and Evelyn Sell, and former SWP member Maude Wilkinson, all victims of Cointelpro operations to get them fired from their jobs, will testify on this point.

### Wide conspiracy

The conspiracy set out in the complaint has included far more than the now-notorious Cointelpro, which existed as a formal program against the plaintiffs for only a decade. It has also included misuse of the immigration laws to single out, on secret political grounds, noncitizen members and supporters of the SWP and YSA.

Héctor Marroquín, a political refugee from Mexico, and Marian Bustin, a permanent resident in this country from Scotland, will testify on this point. Both are members of the SWP and YSA.

INS officer Glenn Bertness will be examined on the Immigration Service's use of so-called "subversive indices" against the plaintiffs, the use of INS informers, and related operations.

State Department Officer Cornelius Scully will be examined on the department's policy of excluding from the United States noncitizens who support

the SWP.

The defendants' conspiracy to disrupt and limit the growth of the SWP and YSA has taken another, especially destructive, form over the past years. The defendants—including the president of the United States, attorney general, directors of the FBI and CIA, and commissioner of the INS—have conspired to harm the plaintiffs by arbitrarily stigmatizing them as "subversive." By falsely branding them as terrorists. By denying them their due process right to an opportunity to clear themselves of the charges.

We will establish that the defendants claim a right, if not a duty, to investigate the plaintiffs—despite the 1976 termination of the FBI's "domestic security" investigations. And that they continue to brand the SWP and YSA as subversive—despite the 1974 abolition of the attorney general's list of subversive organizations.

### Election campaigns

Plaintiff Andrew Pulley, the SWP's 1980 presidential candidate, will testify about the effect of this on the party's ability to wage election campaigns. We will show how the "subversive" stigma hampers the efforts of the SWP and YSA to get a hearing from the public for their ideas; prevents the growth of membership in and support to the SWP and YSA; and destroys their ability to compete in the electoral arena on an equal basis with the Democratic, Republican, and other political parties.

The plaintiffs have requested damages for the burglaries, warrantless

electronic surveillance, and disruption operations that the defendants have committed against them.

They are also asking the court to enjoin the defendants from committing such acts against them in the future.

Once the facts are established in this trial, we believe that the plaintiffs will unquestionably be entitled to relief from those activities.

### Plainly illegal

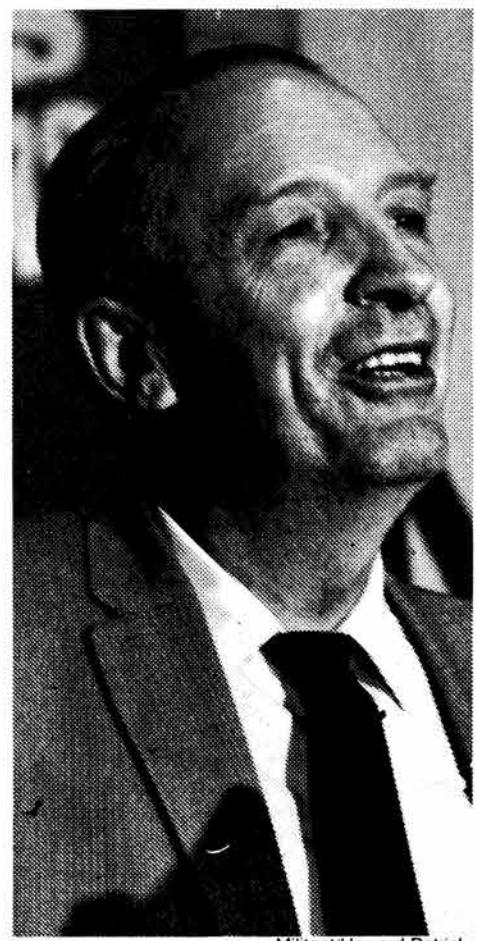
To find for the plaintiffs on those claims—on the burglaries, Cointelpro, warrantless electronic surveillance—Your Honor will not even have to resolve whether these activities of the defendants have been carried out as part of a good faith investigation of plaintiffs. For even in a good faith investigation, such police techniques are plainly illegal.

However, we believe the facts will show that, for the last forty years, the investigations have not been conducted in good faith. And therefore, that all aspects of the investigation—including the use of informers, the maintenance and dissemination of political files, and the blacklisting (whether covert or public)—have been in violation of plaintiffs' First Amendment rights, and should be enjoined.

What we are asking for is a ruling that the government may not premise an investigation on the basis of the SWP's and YSA's political ideas or on the kind of political activities the SWP and YSA engage in.

Nothing less can remedy the injury done to plaintiffs, and to the First

Amendment, by the government's forty-five-year-long campaign of disruption and defamation against the Socialist Workers Party, Young Socialist Alliance, their members, and their supporters.



Militant/Howard Petrick

# Findings of fact in socialist lawsuit

**Below are parts one and two of the document in which the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance outline the facts they intend to prove at the trial of the U.S. government and the conclusions they are asking the judge to adopt.**

## NATURE, GOALS AND ACTIVITIES OF PLAINTIFFS AND RELATED CONCLUSIONS OF LAW

1. The nature, goals and activities of plaintiffs have been the subject of intensive investigation by the federal defendants for almost forty-five years.

2. The record in this case, including the fruits of the investigations and surveillance, the federal defendants' admissions, and the testimony of the plaintiffs, establishes certain facts with respect to the nature, goals, and activities of the plaintiffs, which are described below.

2A. Throughout these investigations, the federal defendants have obtained detailed information, and have thoroughly informed themselves, not only of plaintiffs' public activities and advocacy, but also of plaintiffs' nonpublic and internal activities, statements, plans, and decision-making processes. The federal defendants have used covert methods such as confidential informants, microphone surveillance, wiretapping, the copying of plaintiffs' private papers and correspondence during surreptitious entries of plaintiffs' premises, and the examination of plaintiffs' bank records and other confidential records in the custody of third parties, as well as public source material.

3. The record in this case includes a large sample of the fruits of the defendants' investigations and surveillance of plaintiffs' internal and private discussions, records and activities, including informant reports, wiretap and microphone logs, bank records, stolen correspondence and papers of the plaintiffs, and other raw data.

### Program is public

4. The record discloses that the views, plans and program publicly expressed by plaintiffs are the same as the views, plans and program privately expressed and adhered to by the plaintiffs.

5. The record in this case discloses no basis for a reasonable belief that plaintiffs have engaged in, planned, or advocated any illegal activity, at least since 1941.

6. Plaintiffs openly advocate revolutionary change in the government of the United States.

7. The purpose of the plaintiff organizations is to educate and organize the working class to establish a workers government in order to abolish capitalism and achieve socialism.

8. To further this purpose, the plaintiff organizations engage in a wide variety of activities. These include:

(i) Educational activities, including but not limited to the publication of newspapers, books and pamphlets, and the holding of public meetings and rallies;

(ii) Active participation in the labor movement, including encouragement of their members to seek employment in basic industry, to seek support from their co-workers in industry for the SWP's election campaigns and other political activities and to participate in and advance the goals of the union movement.

(iii) Active participation in the struggle for democratic rights for Blacks, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, and other minorities; in the women's movement; and in the fight against war and militarization, including the movement to stop the draft; and other coalitions;

(iv) Participation in the electoral process by running socialist candidates for public office at the local, state and national level, and by supporting independent labor, Black and Latino candidates for public office;

(v) Participating in discussions with socialists and others from countries around the world, including but not limited to meetings and conferences in this country, as well as traveling to other countries to exchange views and information and to collaborate on international efforts such as the movement to end the war in Vietnam, to free political prisoners held in foreign prisons, to oppose United States military intervention in Central America, and other similar goals. This activity includes attending meetings and conferences of the Fourth International.

9. The SWP and YSA appeal to all sectors of the population, including members of the armed forces, for support for their ideas, activities, and election campaigns.

10. In 1941, eighteen leaders of the SWP were indicted for: (a) Violation of the Smith Act, 18 USC 2385 (Advocating overthrow of Government); and (b) Violation of 18 USC 2387 (Advising insubordination in the armed forces). They were convicted of the first charge and acquitted of the second.

11. Since the 1941 Smith Act convictions there have been no indictments or convictions of the SWP, YSA or their members under the Smith Act.

12. Since the 1941 Smith Act convictions there has been no substantial change in the policies, objectives, or activities of the plaintiff organizations.

13. The record in this case discloses no reasonable ground for belief that, since the 1941 Smith Act convictions, plaintiffs have engaged in, planned, or advocated the commission of illegal acts.

14. Since the 1941 Smith Act convictions, the federal defendants have predicated their investigations of the plaintiffs on the following:

(i) Executive Orders 9835, 10450, and 11785 (Security Requirements for Government employees);  
(ii) 18 USC 2382 (Misprision of Treason);  
(iii) 18 USC 2383 (Rebellion or Insurrection);  
(iv) 18 USC 2384 (Seditious Conspiracy);  
(v) 18 USC 2385 (Advocating Overthrow of Government);

(vi) 18 USC 2386 (Registration of Certain Organizations - Voorhis Act);

(vii) 18 USC 2387 (Activities Affecting Armed Forces—Counselling Insubordination in the Armed Forces);

(viii) 22 USC 611 *et seq.* (Registration of Foreign Agents);

(ix) 8 USC 1182(a)(28) and 1424(a) (Immigration and Nationality Act);

(x) 50 USC 781 *et seq.* (Communist Control Act of 1950 and Internal Security Act of 1954).

15. Since the enactment of each of the statutes and Executive Orders set forth above, defendants have subjected plaintiffs to intensive investigation.

### No indictments

16. No indictments have ever been brought against plaintiffs under these or any other federal laws since the Smith Act indictments more than forty years ago.

17. The record in this case discloses no basis for a reasonable belief that plaintiffs have been, are now, or will be in violation of 18 USC 2382 (Misprision of Treason).

18. The record in this case discloses no basis for a reasonable belief that plaintiffs have been, are now, or will be in violation of 18 USC 2383 (Rebellion or Insurrection).

19. The record in this case discloses no basis for a reasonable belief that plaintiffs have been, are now, or will be in violation of 18 USC 2384 (Seditious

Conspiracy.).

19A. The record in this case discloses no basis for a reasonable belief that plaintiffs have been, are now, or will be in violation of 18 USC 2387 (Counselling Insubordination in the Armed Forces).

20. The SWP was a founding member-organization of the Fourth International in 1938.

### Voorhis Act

21. Immediately subsequent to passage of the Voorhis Act (18 USC 2386) in 1940, the SWP disaffiliated from the Fourth International so as not to be required to register with the Attorney General the name and address of every person who pays dues or makes other contributions to the SWP, the address of every office and meeting place of the organization, and other detailed information required by the Act. The SWP has not been a member of the Fourth International since that time.

22. Since disaffiliating, the SWP has paid no dues to the Fourth International. The Statutes of the Fourth International require member organizations to pay dues. The SWP has neither made nor received any other financial support, loans or contributions to or from the Fourth International.

23. Since disaffiliating, plaintiffs have continued to express their political support to the Fourth International, to openly play a leadership role in the Fourth International's discussions, and to participate in meetings and congresses of the Fourth International with the right to speak and cast consultative votes on all questions before elected bodies of the Fourth International.

24. Plaintiffs state publicly that were it not for the Voorhis Act they would affiliate with the Fourth International.

25. The record in this case discloses no grounds for a reasonable belief that plaintiffs give, solicit, or accept financial contributions, loans, or financial support of any kind to or from the Fourth International or its sections, or to or from any other international political organization or foreign government, or agent, agency, or instrumentality thereof, or any foreign political party.

26. The record in this case discloses no grounds for a reasonable belief that the plaintiffs' policies, program, or activities are determined by any foreign government, or any agent, agency, or instrumentality thereof, or any political party in a foreign country, or any international political organization.

27. Plaintiffs have never registered as an "organization subject to foreign control" pursuant to the provisions of 18 USC 2386.

### Attorney General

28. The Attorney General of the United States has never indicated to plaintiffs in any way, either formally or informally, that plaintiffs may be required to register pursuant to the provisions of 18 USC 2386, nor have there ever been any proceedings to compel plaintiffs to register or any prosecution of plaintiffs for not registering under the Act.

29. Plaintiffs have never registered pursuant to the provisions of 22 USC 611 (Registration of Foreign Agents).

30. The Attorney General of the United States has never indicated to plaintiffs in any way, either formally or informally, that plaintiffs may be required to register pursuant to the provisions of 22 USC 611 (Registration of Foreign Agents), nor has there ever been any proceeding to compel plaintiffs to register or any prosecution of plaintiffs for not registering under the Act.

31. The record in this case discloses no basis for a

*Continued on next page*

**Continued from preceding page**

reasonable belief that support to, affiliation with, or membership in plaintiff organizations (including knowing membership with specific intent to further the aims of, and active participation in plaintiff organizations) places a person within the category of excludable or deportable aliens set forth in 8 USC 1182(a)(28) (Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952).

32. The record in this case discloses no basis for a reasonable belief that support to, affiliation with, or membership in plaintiff organizations (including knowing membership with specific intent to further the aims of, and active participation in plaintiff organizations) is a material or relevant fact in determining eligibility for naturalization under the provisions of 8 USC 1424(a) (Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952).

33. The record in this case discloses no basis for a reasonable belief that plaintiff organizations are or have been directed, dominated or controlled by any foreign government or organization, or that they seek or have sought to establish totalitarian dictatorships anywhere in the world; or that they will in the future be so directed, controlled or dominated, or will in the future seek to establish totalitarian dictatorships.

34. The record in this case discloses no basis for a reasonable belief that plaintiffs will in the future engage in, plan, or advocate the commission of illegal acts.

## **CONCLUSIONS OF LAW RELATING TO FINDINGS 1 THROUGH 34**

35. The record in this case reveals no credible evidence of activity or advocacy by the plaintiffs other than lawful activity and advocacy.

36. Plaintiffs' advocacy of ideas and activities as demonstrated by the record in this case may not, consistent with the First Amendment to the United States Constitution, be held to violate 18 USC 2382, 18 USC 2383, 18 USC 2384, 18 USC 2385, 18 USC 2387 or to bring the plaintiffs within the proscriptions of 50 USC 781 *et seq.*, or 8 USC 1185(a)(28); and no investigation of the plaintiffs may be predicated on such advocacy or activities.

37. Plaintiffs' association with the Fourth International and other socialists abroad, as demonstrated by the record in this case, may not, consistent with the First Amendment to the United States Constitution, be held to require plaintiffs to register under 18 USC 2386, or 22 USC 611, and no investigation of the plaintiffs may be predicated on such association.

38. Membership in plaintiff organizations, including active, knowing membership with the intent of furthering the aims of the organizations, cannot, consistent with the provisions of the First Amendment to the United States Constitution, be the subject of investigation pursuant to the provisions of Executive Order 10450, and 11785.

### **Immigration Act**

39. Plaintiffs' advocacy of ideas and activities as demonstrated by the record in this case may not, consistent with the First Amendment to the United States Constitution, be treated as a material or relevant factor in the enforcement of the Immigration and Nationality Act, 8 USC 1185(a)(28). No investigation of the plaintiffs or their noncitizen members or supporters may be predicated on such advocacy and activities.

## **FINDINGS OF FACT WITH RESPECT TO DENIAL TO PLAINTIFFS OF EQUAL PROTECTION, PRIVILEGES**

## **AND IMMUNITIES UNDER THE LAWS BY THE PRESIDENT, ATTORNEY GENERAL AND FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION**

1. During or about the year 1936 and continuously thereafter, the defendants President of the United States, Attorney General, and Federal Bureau of Investigation and their predecessors agreed to single out the SWP, YSA, their members and supporters, to engage in a systematic campaign to stigmatize them and to provoke public hostility against them.

2. The purpose of this agreement was to lessen the plaintiffs' ability to win support for their election campaigns, ideas and political program generally; and to prevent them from exercising their freedoms of speech and association on an equal basis with the Republican and Democratic parties and their members.

### **Blacklisting of socialists**

3. In or before 1941, in furtherance of this agreement, the defendants President of the United States, Attorney General and Director of the FBI and their predecessors established a policy of blacklisting the SWP, YSA, their members and supporters by arbitrarily listing them on a series of indices. These indices were and are published by the defendants and used by them and by state and local agencies and by private employers to single out members and supporters of the SWP and YSA and their candidates for public office for intensive surveillance, harassment, and denial of employment, and to provoke public hostility against them and limit support for their election campaigns and acceptance of their platforms.

3A. The origins of the SWP were in the Communist League of America, which split from the Communist Party in 1928. The organization adopted the name Socialist Workers Party at a convention in Chicago in December 1937 and January 1938. There was a direct continuity of program from the Communist League of America to the SWP.

Although the government has produced no documents concerning the plaintiffs prior to 1938, it is reasonable to infer from the available information that the FBI investigation of those who founded the SWP began prior to 1938 and continued against the SWP with the founding of the party.

3B. The Young Socialist Alliance was founded as a nationwide organization at a convention in Philadelphia in 1960. The YSA was under investigation from the day it was founded.

4. In August 1936, President Roosevelt issued a directive setting in motion a "domestic intelligence" program for the federal government (Church Committee Book III, p. 392). Among the targets of this program was the socialist group that became, a year and a half later, the Socialist Workers Party. This directive, and the activities it gave rise to, were not made public because the Justice Department anticipated opposition to this expansion of FBI activities aimed at political groups:

In considering the steps to be taken for the expansion of the present structure of intelligence work, it is believed imperative that it be proceeded with, with the utmost degree of secrecy in order to avoid criticism or objections which might be raised to such an expansion by either ill-informed persons or individuals having some ulterior motive.

(Memorandum of FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover, endorsed by Attorney General Homer Cummings, 10/20/38. Cited by Church Committee Book III, p. 392)

Consequently, no authorization was sought from Congress.

5. This expanded intelligence effort focused on "Communist" activities in the labor movement. In

the view of the Justice Department, plaintiffs' activities in the labor movement were "Communist," and, therefore, subject to investigation.

6. At this time the Justice Department used the term "subversive activities" to describe the subject of its investigations. This term, however, was never defined (Church Committee Book III, p. 397). J. Edgar Hoover made it clear that in his view, "subversive activities" did not necessarily involve any illegal activities: ". . . investigations have been conducted in years past . . . of matters which do not in themselves constitute a specific violation of a Federal Criminal Statute, such as subversive activities" (Hoover, 10/20/38, cited by Church Committee Book III, p. 398).

### **Opposition to war**

7. One of the political positions the SWP actively advanced at its founding was opposition to the war policy of the Roosevelt Administration and to the government's steps toward involvement in the impending Second World War. At its founding, the SWP also advanced these positions within the labor movement, including in the International Brotherhood of Teamsters in the Midwest, where members of the SWP, among them plaintiff Farrell Dobbs, were union leaders.

8. A major focus of the FBI investigation of the plaintiffs was the activity of the plaintiffs in connection with the Teamsters Union.

9. In 1939, the FBI began making "confidential inquiries" into political organizations, and in November of that year began preparing a list of individuals "on whom information is available indicating strongly that [their] presence at liberty in this country in time of war or national emergency would constitute a menace to the public peace and safety of the United States Government" (Church Committee Book III, p. 143). The list included those considered to have "strong Communist tendencies" (*Ibid*). This list was described as a "custodial detention" list in June 1940, and presumably included members of the plaintiff organizations (*Ibid*, p. 414). In 1941, the Socialist Workers Party was listed by name as an organization whose members were to be targeted under this program (*Ibid*, p. 419).

### **Smith Act**

10. In 1940, the Smith Act, which outlawed the advocacy of certain ideas, was enacted. The Roosevelt Administration, including the Department of Justice and the Federal Bureau of Investigation, decided to use the Act to prosecute the leaders of the SWP and of the Teamsters Union. The first persons indicted and tried under the Smith Act were twenty-eight leaders of the SWP and the Teamsters Union. In 1941, eighteen of them were convicted of advocating the overthrow of the government by force or violence. All were acquitted on a second charge of advising insubordination in the armed forces (18 USC 2387). The conviction was upheld by the Eighth Circuit in 1943, and the Supreme Court declined to review the case.

10A. The "Custodial Detention" list (see para. 9 *supra*) was continued until 1943, when Attorney General Francis Biddle noted that: There is no statutory authorization or other present justification for keeping a "custodial detention" list of citizens. The [Justice] Department fulfills its proper function by investigating the activities of persons who may have violated the law. It is not aided in this work by classifying persons as to dangerousness (*Ibid*, p. 420).

However, the Custodial Detention List was not abolished; rather, its name was changed to the Security Index (*Ibid*, p. 421).

11. In 1950, Congress passed the Emergency Detention Act. The statute modified the "Custodial Detention Program" in that it provided for hearings

### **Eyewitness account**

#### **Iranian Socialist on Tour April 10-May 8 Hear Fatima Fallahi: The First Two Years of the Iranian Revolution**

- What benefits has revolution brought?
- What has fall of shah meant for women?
- What is behind Iran-Iraq war?
- What is road forward for Iranian workers and farmers?



Fatima Fallahi has lived through the explosive two years of Iran's ongoing revolution. As a member of the Iranian Revolutionary Workers Party (HKE), she is a socialist, feminist, and fighter for the rights of Iran's oppressed nationalities. She is a staunch supporter of the gains of the Iranian revolution.

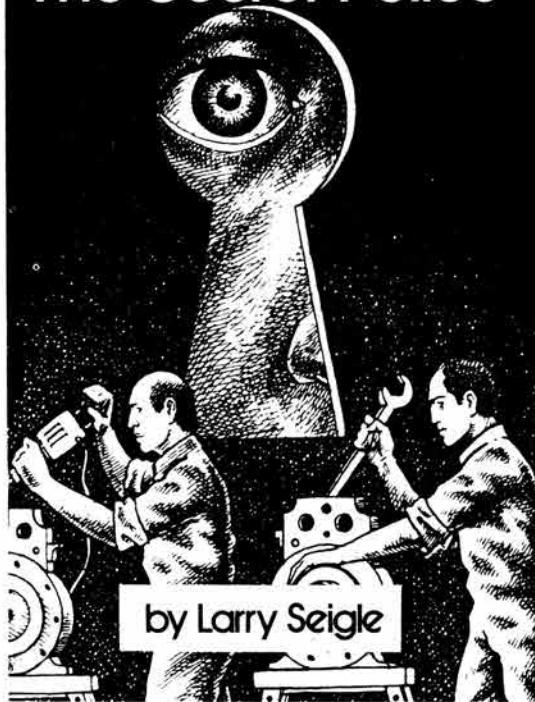
Fallahi, 27, began her political activity as an anti-shah activist while in exile in the United States. She was active in the Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran (CAIFI), which helped win the release of political prisoners from the shah's torturers.

For more information or to arrange a meeting contact: Socialist Workers Party, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014. (212) 242-5530.

She returned to Iran just before the overthrow of the shah and participated in the February 1979 mass insurrection that overthrew the brutal dictatorship.

In June 1979, Fallahi and thirteen other socialists were jailed for their political views. Fallahi was sentenced to life imprisonment. As a result of an international defense campaign all the socialists were released. Fallahi won her freedom on April 14, 1980. Since then she has worked as a writer for the socialist newspaper *Kargar* and made a speaking tour of Australia and New Zealand.

# Workers' Rights versus The Secret Police



by Larry Seigle

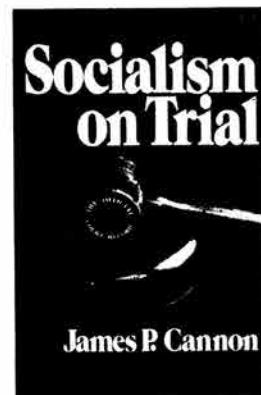
Can the Federal Bureau of Investigation feed information from political files to employers to get unionists fired from their jobs? Can the Immigration and Naturalization Service deport foreign-born workers for their political views? Can police agencies legally plant stool pigeons in unions and other organizations, even if no one involved is suspected of a crime?

According to the government, the answer is yes.

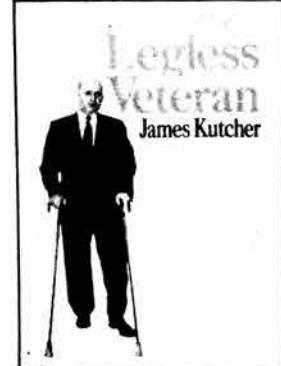
The Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance are putting the U.S. government and its police agencies on trial to challenge these practices.

"Workers' Rights versus The Secret Police" tells the story of the socialists' lawsuit and traces the fight for labor's rights beginning with Marx and Engels. 46 pp. \$1.00.

**Socialism on Trial**, by James P. Cannon, is a clear and simple explanation of the principles and aims of revolutionary socialism. It comes from Cannon's testimony at the 1941 frame-up trial of members of the Socialist Workers Party and Minneapolis Teamsters Union for their antiwar and pro-union activities. 184 pp. \$3.45



**The Case of the Legless Veteran**, by James Kutcher, is the story of a man who fought and defeated the witch-hunters during the Joe McCarthy era. Kutcher lost both legs fighting in World War II, but the government fired him from his job at the Veterans Administration and took away his disability pension because of his socialist beliefs. After an eight-year fight—Kutcher won. 225 pp. \$4.45



Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014 (include \$ .75 for postage and handling).

after arrest, review by an administrative board, and appeal to the United States Court of Appeals. Nevertheless, Attorney General McGrath secretly advised FBI Director Hoover to disregard the legislation and "proceed with the program as previously outlined."

At this time, there were 308 SWP members on the Security Index, according to the information the FBI provided to Attorney General McGrath (Church Committee Book III, pp. 441-2).

## Loyalty program

12. In 1947, President Truman instituted the "Federal Loyalty-Security Program," under which members, supporters, and those accused of being members and supporters, of the SWP were barred from employment in government and in private companies holding government contracts.

13. In 1948, Attorney General Tom Clark, under authority of Executive Order 9835, issued the Attorney General's List. The list was an index of organizations that were designated "totalitarian, fascist, communist, or subversive, or as having adopted a policy of advocating or approving the commission of acts of force or violence to deny others their rights under the Constitution of the United States, or as seeking to alter the form of government of the United States by unconstitutional means." The SWP was designated by Attorney General Clark as such an organization and included on the list (Church Committee Book III, p. 433).

14. The SWP publicly protested this designation and promptly requested by letter to Attorney General Clark that he either remove the SWP from the list or provide a hearing at which the SWP could challenge the designation. In August 1948, the Attorney General rejected the SWP's request.

15. The defendant FBI and other defendant agencies have continued since 1948 to rely on the designation by the Attorney General as justification for their activities against the SWP and the YSA, and their members and supporters.

16. In 1953, President Eisenhower signed Executive Order 10450, the successor to Executive Order 9835. E.O. 10450 provided organizations on the Attorney General's List with the right to challenge the designation at a hearing. The SWP's listing as a "subversive" and "Communist" organization was carried over from E.O. 9835 to E.O. 10450.

17. The SWP contested the designation in a timely manner. Plaintiff Farrell Dobbs, who at the time was the sole acting officer of the SWP, contested the designation by letter. On June 13, 1953, after the deadline for requesting a hearing had passed, the Attorney General rejected the SWP's challenge on the ground that the letter was not signed by all officers of the SWP.

## Young Socialist Alliance

18. Although the YSA was never formally designated as a subversive organization, the Attorney General and the FBI justified investigation of the YSA and its members on the ground that the YSA was "controlled" by the SWP. Thus, the YSA never had the opportunity to challenge this *de facto* designation.

19. In June 1974, during the pendency

of litigation, President Nixon promulgated E.O. 11785, revising E.O. 10450. The Attorney General's List was withdrawn. The provisions of E.O. 10450 mandating the identification and investigation of members of "subversive" organizations were left intact. Neither the President nor the Attorney General indicated that the organizations previously designated were no longer to be considered "subversive."

20. In 1976, at the height of nationwide public criticism of the FBI in response to the exposure of FBI wrongdoing against plaintiffs and others, the defendant Attorney General requested that the FBI compile from the records of the four-decades-long investigation "the specific and articulable facts giving reason to believe the organization is or may be engaged in activities which involve or will involve the use of force or violence and which involve or will involve the violation of federal law."

## Bases of investigation

21. The FBI provided the requested report, dated May 17, 1976, to the Attorney General. The report reveals the following bases for the investigation:

(i) The SWP's vigorous public advocacy of Marxist ideas, its running of candidates for public office, its participation in the anti-Vietnam war and civil rights movements, its prosecution of this litigation, and its publication and distribution of socialist books and newspapers;

(ii) The SWP's participation in meetings and discussions with, and advocacy of, the basic political programs of the Fourth International;

(iii) The 1941 convictions under the Smith Act of eighteen SWP leaders for advocating overthrow of the government; and

(iv) The designation of the SWP by the Attorney General as a "subversive and communist organization."

22. The May 17, 1976, FBI report states that the basis for the investigation was "information" (unspecified) "which indicated that SWP and YSA were engaged in activities which could involve violations of Title 18 U.S. Code 2383 (Rebellion or Insurrection), 2384 (Seditious Conspiracy), 2385 (Advocate Overthrow of the Government); or Title 50 U.S. Code 781-798 (Internal Security Act of 1950 and the Communist Control Act of 1954)."

23. The FBI report offered ideological evaluations of the nature of the SWP and YSA, and argued that the SWP and YSA's "basic philosophy" will in the future lead them to commit illegal acts. The report provided nothing in response to the Attorney General's request for "specific and articulable facts giving reason to believe the organization is or may be engaged in activities which involve or will involve the use of force or violence and which involve or will involve the violation of federal law."

24. The report offered no evidence of any kind to show a divergence between the plaintiffs' internal plans and programs and those they publicly advocate.

25. In September 1976, after reviewing the FBI's report on the investigations, Attorney General Levi announced the termination of the FBI's "domestic security" investigations of the plaintiffs.

26. In announcing the termination of the investigations, the Attorney General in no way modified the Justice Department's long-standing characterization of the SWP and YSA as "subversive." The Attorney General's announcement was limited to declaring the end of the investigations carried out against plaintiffs under the rubric of "domestic security." He made no reference to other categories of FBI investigations, such as "foreign counterintelligence," "passive investigations," and E.O. 10450 investigations. Indeed, the Attorney General said the FBI should continue to "carefully watch" information relating to SWP and YSA's "significant link" to the Fourth International.

27. In 1978, the government stated that the "domestic security investigation" had been terminated only because "the Attorney General found it unlikely that the SWP would seek to translate its revolutionary ideology into violent action within the foreseeable future" (Attorney General's brief, November 1978, p. 10).

28. The termination of the "domestic security investigation" by the Attorney General in September 1976 did not in any way change the practice of disseminating information on the identities and political activities of SWP and YSA members to employers and agencies (Stoops, p. 175).

## Files maintained

29. The information the FBI compiled on the plaintiffs from 1938 to the termination of the "domestic security investigation" in 1976 has never been removed from the FBI files, and continues to be maintained, used and disseminated by the FBI.

30. Claiming authority under E.O. 10450, the FBI currently collects information on the identities and activities of SWP and YSA members, and sends such information to federal employers, private employers under federal military contract (through the Defense Investigative Service), to other federal agencies, and to state and local police departments.

31. The FBI considers information that a person is an active member of the SWP or YSA to be "unfavorable" information and disseminates it as such in connection with E.O. 10450.

32. The FBI currently characterizes the SWP as a group which advocates violent revolution, and communicates that characterization to federal employers and agencies and private employers with military contracts.

33. The information the FBI continues to maintain and disseminate pursuant to E.O. 10450 includes information on the political activities and beliefs of SWP and YSA members which is sent to the FBI by informers, by the CIA, by state and local police, and by foreign police agencies.

34. The record in this case, insofar as it relates to plaintiffs' internal as well as public activities over a period of forty-five years, is extraordinarily comprehensive. That record leaves no room for any credible assertion by the Government that it possesses evidence outside the record providing a reasonable basis for suspicion that plaintiffs have engaged, are engaging, or are planning to engage in illegal activity. The Court is persuaded by the entire record of this case that if such evidence existed the Government could and would have introduced it.

# Black farmers stage sit-in to oppose credit squeeze

The following is the complete text of a March 16 Associated Press dispatch.

By Jerry Gray

COVINGTON, Tenn. (AP)—A dozen Black farmers in the fifth day of a sit-in at a Farmers Home Administration office were joined Monday by seven white farmers with the same complaint—difficulty in obtaining federal loans.

"When we came here Thursday, we were assuming that the problem was relatively unique to the Black farmer; that's not the case," said Thomas Burrell, a farm management consultant and spokesman for the Black farmers. "The overwhelming response over the weekend, with calls from farmers all over the country, said the problem was one of national proportion."

Some two dozen Black farmers converged on the office Thursday afternoon and decided not to leave at closing time. They slept on the office's red carpet over the weekend

and were there to greet William Timberlake, the federal agency's district director, when he got to work Monday morning.

No incidents were reported, and Timberlake said the office would remain "open for business" while he met with the farmers to discuss their claims.

Timberlake said before the meetings began that he knew of no delays in loans to any farmers who deal with his office.

The farmers chatted and read newspapers during office hours Monday.

The Black farmers said the loans that were turned down or delayed ranged from \$1,000 to \$120,000. Most farm soybeans and cotton in Western Tennessee, Arkansas and Mississippi. Covington is 40 miles northeast of Memphis.

The white farmers who joined the protest belong to the American Agriculture Movement.

Timberlake said he would make no effort to oust the protesters "as long as they're

peaceful and not in the way so we can operate."

But Burrell said the farmers are prepared to stay "until we get some relief. These people can't go to their fields until they get their loans and they maintain if they don't get their loans then they just might as well stay up here in the office."

Timberlake said he did not "know of any (loan) delays at the present time. It's just normal processing that we're involved with. You have to have all the information together before we can approve loans."

He said there is no standard deadline for the processing of loans.

Burrell, 31, who farms in three Tennessee counties, said FMHA checks often come too late for the start of the planting season, usually April or May.

"We have documented evidence that farmers have received their money in July and August at a time when the planting season is long gone and people are preparing to harvest," Burrell said.

# Gov't pushes Martinez frame-up after mistrial

By Bernie Senter

DENVER—In a spirited march and rally 175 people protested here March 14, continuing the effort to end the frame-up of Chicano activist Francisco "Kiko" Martinez.

Martinez faces charges of mailing letter bombs to opponents of the Chicano movement in 1973.

The first trial, last February, ended in a mistrial at the government's request.

During the trial members of the jury had complained about spectators who wore "Free Kiko" T-shirts and a defense lawyer who wore sunglasses in court.

Local newspapers reported the day the trial ended that the judge himself wore a "Free Kiko" T-shirt as a joke at a bar the night before.

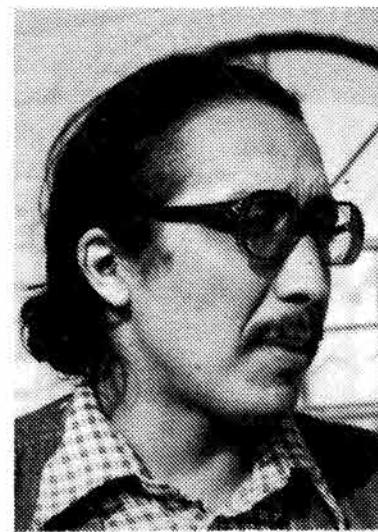
The government used the jury misconduct as a pretext to end the trial.

Testimony presented at the trial showed that there was only circumstantial evidence linking Martinez with the bombs.

The only fingerprint resembling Martinez's was found on a piece of poster board used in one of the letter bomb's packaging. A government witness testified that the print could have been there for a year before the bomb was made.

Since the mistrial was declared, the news media have conducted a campaign aimed at prejudicing the public against Martinez.

One TV reporter stated that



Militant/Silvia Zapata

Martinez's supporters had threatened the judge and jury. This "investigative reporting" turned out to be a complete fabrication.

Interestingly enough, the reporter testified in court that he was a former FBI agent!

Despite the lack of evidence and the setbacks the government has already suffered, they are continuing the prosecution.

A state trial for Martinez starts April 20 in Denver. A federal trial will begin in Pueblo, Colorado, May 18.

A demonstration is planned to coincide with the opening of the April 20 trial. For more information, or to make contributions to the defense fund, contact: Kiko Martinez Defense Fund, P.O. Box 753, Alamosa, Colorado 81101.

## Health cuts hit immigrant workers

By Rebecca Finch

LOS ANGELES—The Los Angeles County Board of Supervisors has voted to curtail medical treatment at county hospitals for thousands of undocumented workers.

Undocumented workers will now be required to apply for Medi-Cal. The Medi-Cal application includes a form that must be turned over to the Immigration and Naturalization Service.

Obviously, those without

papers will be discouraged from seeking medical treatment.

Three-hundred community activists, health-care workers, union leaders, and attorneys showed up to oppose the Medi-Cal requirement.

Most cited humanitarian grounds for continuing the health services.

But to no avail.

Others cited health considerations for the general population as a whole.

Workers in the county health-care centers serving undocumented workers described finding hundreds of cases of tuberculosis, typhoid, and other infectious diseases that will go untreated, and could be spread to the general population as a whole.

Still to no avail.

A coalition of community groups and health-care workers is planning to file suit to stop the new policy.

## Coal company slapped on wrist for role in deadly mine disaster

By Steven Crabbe

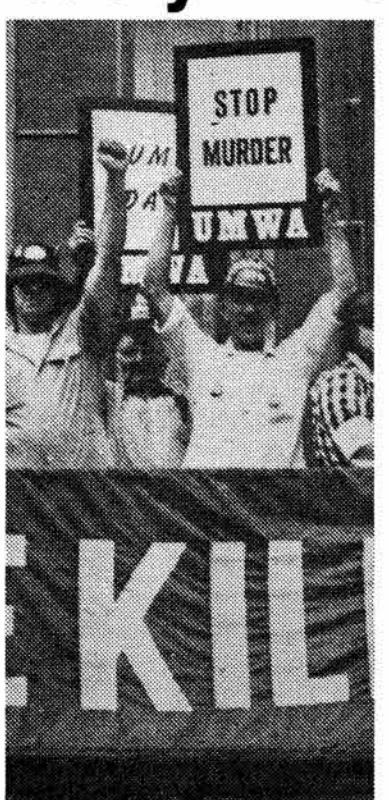
CHARLESTON, W. Va.—An investigation of the November 7 explosion that killed five miners at Westmoreland Coal Company's No. 17 mine near Madison, West Virginia, has uncovered 250 violations of state law.

As a result of the investigation, which was conducted by the state Department of Mines, fines totaling \$319,000 have been levied against Westmoreland and five company supervisors.

According to Department of Mines director Walter Miller, the fines—including \$255,450 against the company—are the largest the department has ever levied for safety law violations.

But Richard Cooper, a safety inspector for the Mine Workers union, told the Charleston *Gazette*: "Money is not the solution. Operators and coal companies have got to be shown they can't neglect laws and kill coal miners and expect only a fine. If they kill coal miners, they should be put in jail."

Mrs. Ellie Kinder, mother of Herbert Kinder III, a twenty-



two-year-old miner who was killed in the explosion, told the Charleston *Daily Mail* she was not impressed by the state investigation. She said she was waiting to see the findings of a federal probe, which have not been released.

"To me, it was the same as murder," she added.

The explosion, West Virginia's worst mining disaster in eight years, occurred when a spark set off a pocket of methane gas in an abandoned section of the mine.

Among the infractions found by the Department of Mines were: violations of laws requiring regular methane gas inspections and weekly inspection of ventilation passageways in abandoned areas; allowing some airways in the mine to be blocked by water and roof falls; and improperly moving mining equipment underground.

In addition, the state could find no record of weekly examinations of some mine airways from January 26, 1980, to the time of the accident.

Boone County Prosecutor Matt Bouldin told the *Gazette* March 20 that he had scanned the state code and found no criminal penalties for state mining safety law violations.

A *Gazette* survey of fines levied in mine death investigations in 1979 revealed state fines that year averaged between \$2,000 and \$3,000 per death.

## Conference protests blockade of Cuba

By José G. Pérez

WASHINGTON, D.C.—The First National Organizing Conference to End the U.S. Blockade Against Cuba was held here at George Washington University March 28 and 29.

The conference was kicked off with a Saturday morning plenary session-rally, attended by 125 people. Mariana Gáston, of the Antonio Maceo Brigade chaired the session. Speakers included Harold Mayerson of the National Lawyers Guild; Ramsey Clark, former U.S. Attorney General; U.S. Rep. George Crockett (D-Mich.); and Prof. Johnnetta B. Cole of the Department of Anthropology of the University of Massachusetts.

"The United States has a foreign policy based on the economic exploitation of other people enforced by violence or the threat of violence," Clark said in his keynote address to the conference.

He blasted the Reagan administration policy toward El Salvador, saying it was based on the idea of reestablishing "a hemisphere of the old Monroe Doctrine sort."

Clark contrasted Cuban and U.S. foreign policy, noting that when newly independent Angola was invaded by the racist government of South Africa, the proposals presented by the organizers were accepted by the group.

Cuba took the side of Angola whereas the Ford administration backed the racists. "What would the present lives of Angolans be if the South African soldiers had reached Luanda?"

Clark called for renewed vigilance and stepped-up defense of Cuba in face of the Reagan administration's hostility. "Watch the effort to isolate Cuba," he said. "Don't assume that what happened in Colombia is an isolated case." Only a few days before, Colombia had broken diplomatic relations with Cuba, citing as a pretext the framed-up charge that Cuba had trained Colombian guerrillas.

Following the opening speeches, the conference broke down into workshops. The next morning another plenary session was held to hear proposals from the committee that initiated the conference presented by Sandra Pollack of the U.S. Peace Council. These focused around lobbying local, state, and federal government officials to end the blockade.

Conference organizers also presented a slate for a continuations committee that will set up a network of anti-blockade activists to exchange information and coordinate activities. The proposals presented by the organizers were accepted by the group.

# Hospital workers draw labor solidarity in Wis.

By Pete Smith

KENOSHA, Wis.—Employees at Kenosha Memorial Hospital here are trying to win a contract for the National Union of Health Care Employees, Local 1199W.

Their organizing drive is running up against Modern Management, Incorporated (MMI), one of the biggest union-busting "consultant firms" in the country.

But the workers, who are often paid less than five dollars an hour for their dedicated service to the health care of this community, are not alone.

More than 150 people attended a February 28 solidarity rally at the headquarters of UAW Local 72 in Kenosha.

Robert Muehlenkampf, executive vice-president of 1199W, set the framework for the discussion. He explained that "what's happening today is an attempt to have the greatest transfer of wealth from one class to another in the history of this country."

"It all comes down to one thing," Muehlenkampf said. "They're going to steal from us as much as they can get away with. And they can't do this without attacking the best and often only organization workers in this country have—their unions."

Part of this union-busting effort is the use of firms like MMI. According to 1199W's Kenosha organizer, Martin Dickenson, the hospital will pay MMI "a ball park figure" of \$360,000 for the first six months of its antilabor services.

"Who pays the bill for the union busters?" Dickenson asked. "That's right, you do."

"Of KMH's \$18.7 million budget in

1979, \$7.4 million came in Medicare and Medicaid payments (about 40 percent of the total). Add to that the fact that about 50 percent of the patients have their payments made through union-contract insurance benefits, and you see that about \$16.8 million of the hospital's budget (about 90 percent) comes from taxpayers and union members."

KMH is paying at least three full-time MMI "consultants" some \$300 each per day.

But the hospital is much stingier with its employees.

Dickenson blasted the hospital's "totally inadequate health insurance program" for its employees. He said that KMH is "dangerously understaffed" many times, especially in the intensive-care unit and on the psychiatric floors.

Without union protection, workers have little job security. One fifty-five-year-old woman with fifteen years volunteer and paid service was fired because "she walked too slowly."

Also pledging support for the KMH workers was Joseph Gruber, executive vice-president of the Wisconsin AFL-CIO.

Other unionists at the meeting warmly greeted 1199W's appeal. UAW Local 72 members were outraged to learn that one of these labor-hating board members is also the director of operations at the American Motors Corporation plant here.

Workers at the meeting eagerly snapped up literature on another union-busting operation, the firing of fifteen socialists and members of IAM Lodge 709 by the Lockheed Corporation in Marietta, Georgia.

## Union-busting and layoffs taken up at Minn. meeting

By Rich Stuart

VIRGINIA, Minn.—"A good precedent." "A step forward." "A real good discussion."

These were a few of the comments by unionists at the conclusion of a February 28 labor conference entitled "Fight for Tomorrow."

The conference, attended by more than 100 people, was sponsored by United Steelworkers of America Local 1938 with the cooperation of the Labor Education Service of the University of Minnesota. Local 1938 is the largest local on northern Minnesota's Mesabi Iron Range.

Workshops at the day-long conference focused on union busting, plant closings, and union building. The dominant theme heard throughout was that labor needs a new approach to the big problems facing us today, that the old "bread and butter" approach is no longer enough to stand up to today's powerful corporate offensive.

A revitalized, democratic union movement, responsible to and run by the rank and file, was recognized as the weapon we need to go from the defensive to an offensive on the side of all working people, union and non-union.

Many Iron Range unionists were present at the conference, including steelworkers, electrical workers, communication workers, hospital workers, and teachers. Also present were delegations from the United Auto Workers in St. Paul, Minnesota, and USWA Local 1010 in Gary, Indiana.

Frequent mention was made in workshops of the need for the unions to

forge alliances with other victims of the employer-government offensive. One of the members of Local 1010 spoke of the local's plans to send buses to Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, on March 28 for the safe energy demonstration.

Randy Barber, author of *The North Will Rise Again*, a study of corporate control of union pension funds, was the keynote speaker. USWA Local 1938 President Joe Samargia also spoke.

Questions discussed by conference participants included: how to involve more union members in activities like the conference; how to fight massive layoffs; are the layoffs really caused by imported goods, or is the import scare simply a convenient scapegoat?

To combat plant closings, layoffs, and union bustings, different strategies were put forward. Should the unions focus on building more clout in the Democratic Party in the hope of influencing legislators? Or is it time for the unions to initiate their own political party to put working class representatives in government?

Is the solution to layoffs a ban on foreign imports, or a shorter workweek with no reduction in pay to spread jobs around?

Should workers demand to see the books of companies that claim bankruptcy and threaten shutdowns? And could workers run those plants more efficiently than a corporate board?

Although the conference made no decisions or projections for future action, it was an encouraging sign to see 100 unionists spending a Saturday in enthusiastic give-and-take, seriously grappling with issues that affect all our lives. There was unanimous agreement that the unions have to continue these discussions.

Rich Stuart works at U.S. Steel's Minntac plant and is a member of United Steelworkers Local 1938.

## Last hired, first fired

# Black firefighters win Toledo suit on layoffs

By John Bartley

TOLEDO—Black firefighters here, laid off by the city administration since last June, won a victory when the Sixth Circuit Court of Appeals ruled March 3 that the city must uphold the proportion of Black firefighters in the total force.

The ruling means that the city will not be able to lay off the Black firefighters strictly according to seniority. Since the Blacks were among the last hired by the department, layoff by seniority would have meant they would have been the first fired. The city's firefighting force would have remained overwhelmingly white.

However, said the court's opinion, a lower court acted correctly in setting aside the fire department's seniority system if that system is "an obstacle to the city of Toledo's duty to eliminate past discrimination."

The history of this case begins in 1972 when Black and Latino applicants sued the fire department, claiming discrimination in hiring. Two years later, the city agreed to a plan by which Blacks and Latinos would, within five years, be represented in the fire department in roughly the same proportion as they are in the city population.

But when the city layoffs came down in June 1980, almost half the Blacks and Latinos hired since the consent

decree went into operation were laid off. The percentage of Black firefighters, according to the court, fell to 5.48 percent; that of Latinos fell to 0.78 percent.

The Black firefighters, represented by Advocates for Basic Legal Equality, a caucus within the firefighters union, filed a lawsuit demanding that the number of Blacks in the department not go below 8.21 percent, and Latinos not go below 1.22 percent. The union leadership opposed the suit, lining up with city officials on this.

As a net result of the court order, thirty-four people will be rehired.

Although the city administration made ominous noises under its breath about how much the court ruling would cost, they evidently felt the sentiment in the Black community too great to buck. Frank Pizza, city law director, told the *Toledo Blade* March 12 that chances for a rehearing of the case before the U.S. Supreme Court were "very, very minimal."

Under the agreement reached between the attorneys for the Advocates for Basic Legal Equality and the city, the workers will have to give up most of the back pay they should have received since last June.

The victory sets a legal precedent for challenging the discriminatory firing practices of the bosses, by which minorities and women are always last hired and first fired.

## Creationists deal setback to science in Arkansas

By Steve Bride

Arkansas science teachers will have to give equal time to creationist—that is, religious—views on human origin under a bill passed March 17 by that state's legislature.

The bill, the first of its kind passed in any state, says if scientific evolution theory is taught in public schools, then "balanced treatment" must be accorded creationists' beliefs.

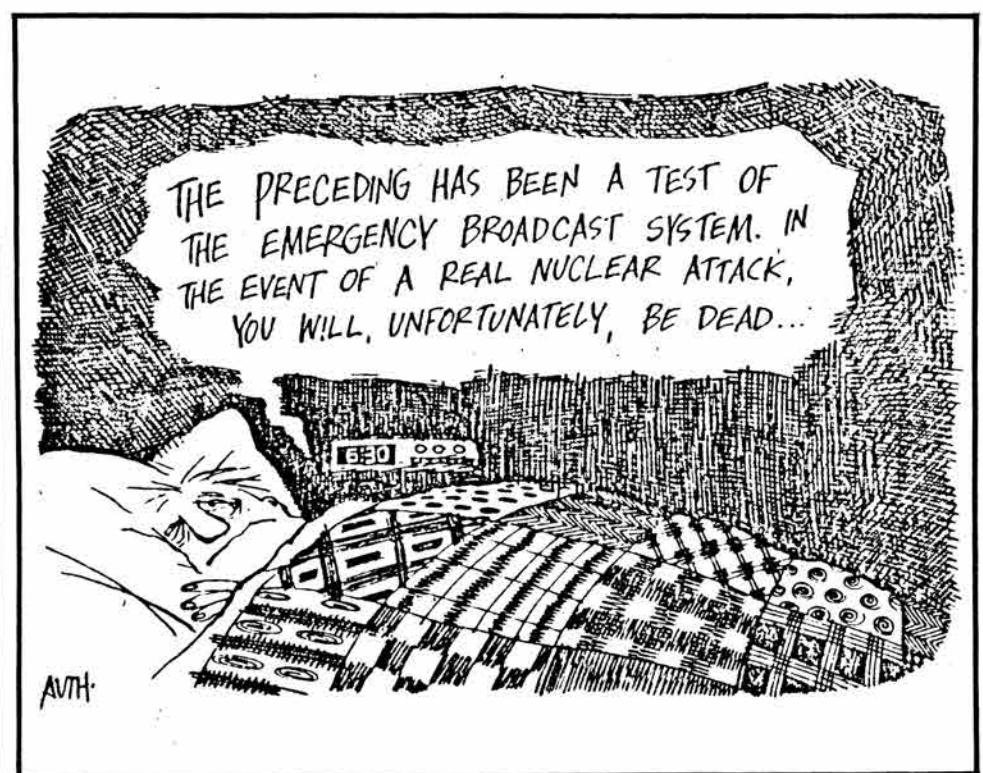
The measure purports to limit teaching of creationism to scientific evidence, and prohibits reference to religious writings. The problem, however, is that the main place such views are found is in the Bible, which even its most ardent supporters would agree was not put together by teams of scientists.

Creationists advance no scientific evidence of their own, being content to

simply speculate on gaps in existing scientific records. As Porter Kier, director of the Smithsonian Institution's Hall of Evolution, put it: "New discoveries in biology show that there are some holes in evolutionary science that we need to fill. Creationists use these honest disagreements among scientists to assert their own theories."

Coming on the heels of their March 6 defeat in a California courtroom, the Arkansas bill evens the creationists' record at one and one. As with California, Ronald Reagan implied backing of this latest effort on March 20, when he told a conservative group he would work to "permit the acknowledgement of a Supreme Being in our classrooms."

Opponents of the Arkansas measure, however, predict it will not stand up in court.



# 'The greatest purveyor of violence in the world today: my own government'

The following is excerpted from a sermon given by Martin Luther King in 1967 at the Ebenezer Baptist Church in Atlanta, Georgia.

We in the churches have a continuing task. While we urge our government to disengage itself from a disgraceful commitment, we must continue to raise our voices and our lives if our nation persists in its perverse ways in Vietnam.

Some of the difficulties in speaking out today grows out of the fact that there are those who are seeking to equate dissent with disloyalty. Something is happening and people are not going to be silent.

These are revolutionary times. All over the globe men are revolting against old systems of exploitation and oppression. And out of the wounds of a frail world, new systems of justice and equality are being born. Shirtless and barefoot people of the land are rising up as never before. People who sat in darkness have seen a great light. They are saying, unconsciously, as we say in one of our freedom songs, "Ain't gonna let nobody turn me around."

It is a sad fact that because of constant complacency, a morbid fear of communism, our proneness to adjust to injustice, the Western nations that initiated so much of the revolutionary spirit of the modern world have now become the arch anti-revolutionaries. This has driven many to feel that only Marxism has the revolutionary spirit. Therefore communism is a judgment against our failure to make democracy real and to follow through on the revolutions that we initiated.

I speak out against this war because I'm disappointed with America.

There can be no great disappointment where there is no great love. I am disappointed with our failure to deal positively and forthrightly with the triple evils of racism, economic exploitation, and militarism. We are presently moving down a dead-end road that can lead to national disaster. We are put in the terrible situation of having to go to battle and fight and kill colored people and poor people who are in the very same situation that we find ourselves in today.

I speak as a child of God and a brother to the suffering poor of Vietnam. I speak for those whose land is being laid waste, whose homes are being destroyed, whose culture is being subverted.

I speak for the poor of America who are paying the double price of smashed hopes at home and death and corruption in Vietnam. I speak for the thousands and thousands of mothers of our land



Rev. King addressing April 15, 1967, mobilization against the Vietnam war at the United Nations in New York City. The march and rally of nearly half a million was largest antiwar action in the United States up to that date.

who must see their sons go off to fight an ill-considered, unjust war. Trembling at every moment, not knowing what will happen to them.

I speak for all of our boys on the battlefield and the millions of promising young men who must make decisions today.

To those who say that we are enemies of the soldiers in Vietnam, I say that those of us who are opposing the war are their best friends, for what we're saying in substance is that it is time for our boys to come back home.

Now let me move on and say just two or three other things. Perhaps the more tragic recognition of reality—the place when it became clear to me that the war was doing far more than devastating the hopes of the poor at home. It was sending their sons and their brothers and their husbands to fight and die in extraordinarily high proportions relative to the rest of the population. We were taking the Black young men who have been crippled by society and sending them 8,000 miles away to guarantee liberties in Southeast Asia, which they have not found in southwest Georgia and east Harlem.

So we have been repeatedly faced with the cruel irony of watching Negro and white boys on TV screens as they kill and die together for a nation that has been unable to seat them together in the same schoolroom.

Though we watch them in brutal so-

lidarity, burning the huts of a poor village, we realize that they would hardly live on the same block in Chicago or Atlanta.

As I have walked among the desperate, rejected, and angry young men [in the ghettos], I have told them that molotov cocktails and rifles would not solve their problems.

But they ask, and rightly so, what about Vietnam? They ask if our own nation wasn't using massive doses of violence to solve its problems and bring about the changes it wants. And their questions hit home. And I knew that I could never again raise my voice against the violence of the oppressed in the ghettos without having first spoken clearly to the greatest purveyor of violence in the world today: my own government.

There's been a lot of applauding over the last few years. They've applauded our total movement. They've applauded me.

They praised us in Albany and Birmingham and Selma, Alabama. Oh, the press was so noble in its applause, and so noble in its praise when I was saying be nonviolent toward [Birmingham police chief] Bull Connor. When I was saying be nonviolent toward [Selma sheriff] Jim Clark.

There's something strangely inconsistent about a nation and a press that will praise you when you say be nonviolent toward Jim Clark but will curse

and damn you when you say be nonviolent toward little brown Vietnamese children.

And who are we supporting in Vietnam today? A man by the name of General Ky. Who fought with the French against his own people, and who said on one occasion that the greatest hero of his life is Hitler.

All the while the people read our leaflets and received regular promises of peace and democracy and land reform. Now they languish under our bombs and consider us, not their fellow Vietnamese, the real enemy.

I am deeply concerned about our own troops. I'm as concerned about them as anything else.

For it occurs to me that what we are submitting them to in Vietnam is not simply the brutalizing process that goes on in any war where armies face each other and seek to destroy. We are adding cynicism to the process of death. For they must know after this short period that none of the things we claim to be fighting for are really involved.

Before long they must know that their government has sent them into a struggle among Vietnamese. And the more sophisticated surely realize that we are on the side of the wealthy and the secure, while we create a hell for the poor. The tragedy is, there is something in history called too late. There is no more sad two words in the English language than too late.

I call on Washington today. I call on every man and woman of goodwill all over America today. I call on the young men of America who must make a choice today to take a stand on this issue. Tomorrow may be too late. The book may close on us.

I can still sing We Shall Overcome, because Carlyle was right, no lie can live forever. We Shall Overcome because William Cullen Bryant was right, truth thrust to earth will rise again. We Shall Overcome because the Bible is right, you shall reap what you sow.

Because the words of the Lord have spoken it. With this faith we will be able to speed up the day when all over the world we will be able to join hands and sing in the words of the old Negro spiritual, "Free at last. Free at last. Thank God almighty, we're free at last."

With this faith, we'll sing it as we're getting ready to sing it now. Men will beat their swords into plowshares and their spears into pruning hooks. And nations shall not rise up against nations. Neither shall they study war anymore. And I don't know about you, I ain't gonna study war no more.

## Atlanta cops, curfew draw sharp protest

By Ed Warren

ATLANTA—On March 29, more than eight million people across the country listened to a national radio hookup from WAOK radio, a local Black station here.

The guest for this two-hour discussion on the Atlanta child murder situation was Public Safety Commissioner Lee Brown of the police department.

Concerned people called in from across the country to question the commissioner about the government's lackadaisical attitude in solving these horrendous crimes. One caller asked Brown why the police hadn't hauled in the Ku Klux Klan and questioned them on these cases.

Brown responded by saying that there is no evidence that the Klan has

been involved in the murders.

Sidney Hunter, the Socialist Workers candidate for city council at-large in Atlanta, disagreed: "How can the police say that the Klan hasn't been involved in this? They haven't even investigated them yet!"

"Mayor Maynard Jackson and the police department are dragging their feet. Black and white working people must put massive pressure on the government, with activities like the March 15 demonstration we held here to demand an end to these racist killings."

In another development, the American Civil Liberties Union of Georgia is challenging a proposed extension of the city's curfew. Covering all youth fourteen years old and under, it's in

effect from 7 p.m. to 6 a.m. It was passed by the city council on February 2. This ordinance has been used to make Black youth seem responsible for the child murders, instead of trying to catch the real criminals.

ACLU President Martha Gaines told the media, "Frankly, we don't perceive the curfew as directly related to the murder and missing cases. All the curfew does is to pretend we are doing something helpful when we're not."

"There is a suggestion that the reason the children have been missing and killed is because of family irresponsibility. I don't believe and the ACLU doesn't believe that the case has a thing to do with family responsibility."

The curfew will be reviewed in thirty days.

## By and about Malcolm X

Malcolm X Speaks.

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by George Breitman.

169 pp., paper \$2.95.

Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014.

## Denounce Klan, Reagan cutbacks

# 7,000 in Jersey City protest Atlanta killings

By Sue Hagen

JERSEY CITY, N.J.—An overwhelmingly Black crowd of 7,000 filled the square outside Martin Luther King School here on March 29 to protest the murders of Black children in Atlanta.

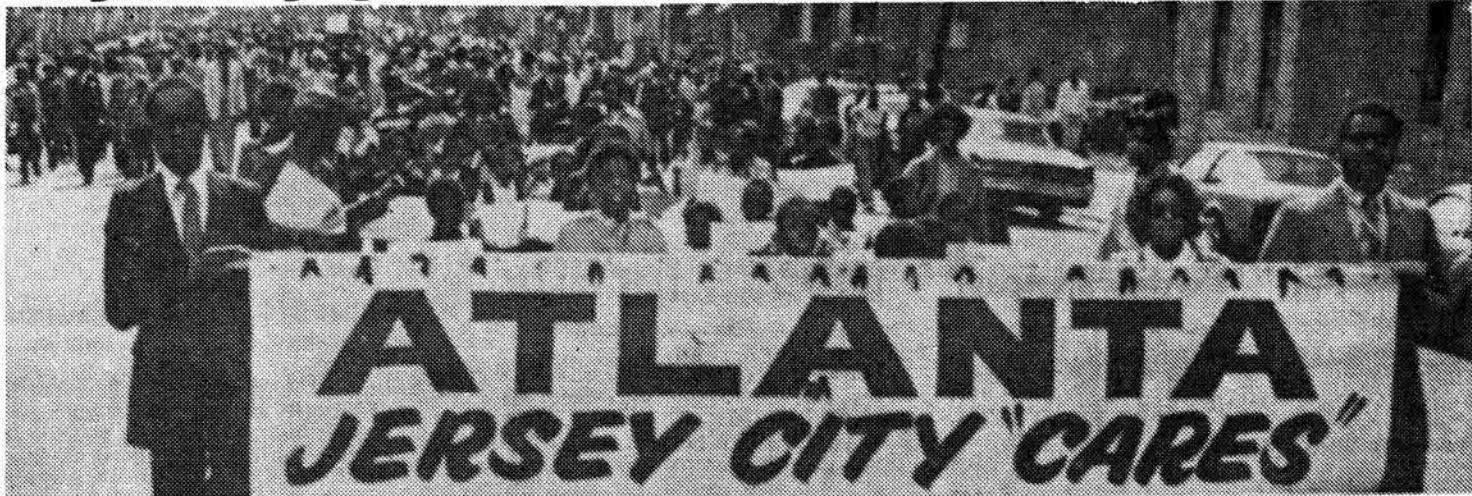
Organized by the Concerned Citizens of Jersey City, the vigil and speakout followed a memorial march.

Large contingents were organized by schools, churches, and community groups. AFSCME Local 2306, Hudson County NOW, and Hudson County Committee Against Registration and the Draft also participated.

The crowd cheered as speakers denounced racist killings, Reagan's budget cuts, and the Ku Klux Klan. Several linked events in Atlanta with the unsolved disappearances of five Black teenagers in Newark two years ago.

Edwin Barrows, former member of the Black Panther Party, said, "They kill us with cop .38s, they kill us with Greensboro massacres, they kill us with cutbacks, they want to kill us in El Salvador. They're wiping out a whole generation."

Hodri Lee of the New Jersey Black Students Coalition talked about the



"need to develop our own political power." He pointed to the futility of supporting Black Democrats in the face of escalating racist attacks.

Participants who spoke to the *Militant* agreed on the need for unity and independent action by the Black community. Some felt the Black administration in Atlanta lets the government off the hook.

Linda Williams, a laid-off day-care worker, said, "The government can wipe out the Black Panthers—why

can't they do something about the Klan?"

Christopher Bethea, a student at Martin Luther King School, supported the community patrols in Atlanta. "If the cops can't catch him, people will have to do it themselves."

Snyder High School students have raised \$100 in a fund for the families in Atlanta.

James Harris, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of New

Jersey, distributed a statement which said, "The vast majority of Americans despise what is happening in Atlanta. Newark and Jersey City are a sea of green ribbons."

Harris urged working people to get their unions and community groups to demand that the killer be arrested and prosecuted.

He also called for a full investigation into the case of the missing Black teenagers in Newark.

## ... Atlanta

Continued from back page

cops to apprehend the racists?

Jackson can't do this because it would expose the role of the cops and capitalist government apparatus as instruments of the racist rich. He and other Black Democrats would be seen as servants of the real powers in the city.

Like the Reagan team in Washington (and the Carter team before him), the Jackson crew also uses secrecy to keep the truth from the working people of Atlanta. The local police have refused to divulge any information on their "investigation." State secrets in Washington, city and cop secrets in Atlanta—both are used to hide the crimes of the government.

What the rulers fear is the breakdown of the illusion that Black Democrats really run the city of Atlanta in the interests of Blacks. The truth of the matter is they administer it for the banks and corporations. They fear a major explosion as occurred in Miami last year. The tension in the community is obvious to anyone who has recently been in Atlanta.

### Default of Black leaders

This is also why most major Black

leaders in the country have come to the defense of the Jackson administration.

The March 25 *New York Times* reported on a meeting of the Black Leadership Forum held on March 24 in Atlanta. The Forum includes leaders of the NAACP, Southern Christian Leadership Conference, National Urban League, Congressional Black Caucus, and other civil rights organizations.

The statement issued by the group explicitly rejected the idea that there is a "racist plot" against Black youth in Atlanta.

These same Black leaders did nothing to build the March 15 demonstration in Atlanta demanding the arrest of the killers. They have not called for more protests focused on the government's responsibility to catch the murderers.

Instead, they are desperately seeking to maintain the illusion that Black Democrats and Republicans in office are different than their white counterparts, even though both carry out the same policies.

The NAACP's Benjamin Hooks even attacked any initiative by the Black community independent of the Jackson administration's official "investigation." The cops, Hooks claimed, are "doing all they can or any human being can do."

These Black misleaders have also endorsed efforts to raise funds for the police.

The money issue has become another dodge by the cops to explain why they haven't caught the killers. No money, they say, means it will take longer to catch the murderers.

But the millions already sent to the police haven't solved the murders! That's because the problem is political, not financial.

Money should be raised to build a movement in Atlanta and nationwide to place pressure on the government to find the child killers. Bringing in mothers who lost a loved one to address meetings (providing them honorariums and donations, of course) can help bring out the truth.

Money to the cops, however, is not going to bring the killers to justice.

### Investigate the Klan

Another outrageous default by the national Black leadership is its refusal to demand that the city, state and federal governments do everything possible to investigate the Klan and other racist outfits who are happy to see Black youth dead.

The default has been a major obstacle to mobilizing the pressure needed on the city administration. It has made it easier for the Jackson administration, the White House, and the media to turn the victims into the criminals.

Recently, we had the spectacle of Atlanta Blacks becoming the victims when they took steps to organize community patrols to protect their children.

Four brothers were arrested for carrying arms. They face a number of serious charges, including one charged with inciting to riot. Meanwhile, there are still no arrests—much less charges—against those responsible for the child murders.

The actions by these four brothers and others in Atlanta's housing projects point up the frustration and anger in the Black community. They are sick of being lied to and given the run-around by the city.

However, these community or self-defense patrols, especially when armed, are small and have not involved significant numbers of people.

Jackson has attacked the patrols and the right of Blacks to bear arms, seeking to divert attention from the big question in the city: his administration's complicity with the cop cover-up.

The capitalist media have also tried to whip up fear by talking about potential Black violence, ignoring the real racist terror Blacks face from rightist gangs like the KKK and cops.

### What is needed

What is needed today more than ever in Atlanta—and nationwide—is a mass movement led by Blacks and the labor movement demanding action by the government to find the killers.

This type of campaign has broad potential, as the green ribbon solidarity drive already indicates. The massive wearing of green ribbons, in contrast to the yellow ribbons for the former hostages, shows this.

The labor support for the March 15 demonstration in Atlanta especially indicates this potential. Union backing for that action included United Steelworkers District 35, Laborers International Union Local 438, American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, International Ladies Garment Workers Union Local 122, two locals of the Communications Workers of America, Lodge 1690 of the International Association of Machinists, and members of the Printing Specialties and Paper Products Union Local 527.

Marion Garvin, area vice-president for CWA Local 3263, spoke at the rally. He observed that "labor has long cared and fought for human rights, civil rights, human dignity, and law, order and justice."

Community patrols organized in this framework of broad public activities can have a powerful impact. Combined with speakouts, rallies and other activities, they can help get out the truth to the steelworkers, machinists, paper workers, public employees and other unionists in the area of Atlanta. They can gain support from unions and civil rights groups around the country too.

Such a campaign to get out the truth can also help expose the complicity of the cops and city in the cover-up. Regular reports to the community and press can help place more pressure on the government.

This can also convince many national and Atlanta Black leaders to reverse their present stand of denying that a "racist plot" exists, and help to build a movement to stop the murders and catch the criminals.

The gains Blacks and other working people have won in the past were through our own mass actions. This is the only way to stop racist terror today.

## 2 more Blacks slain

By Margaret Jayko

On March 30, the body of Timothy Lyndale Hill was found in the Chattahoochee River. This brought to twenty-one the number of murdered Black children in Atlanta.

Hill disappeared on March 13. Yet for three weeks, Mayor Jackson refused to give Hill's case to the special police task force on the missing and murdered children. He used the excuse that Hill was a runaway, and was probably still alive!

On March 31, the body of another young Black male was found in the same river, bringing the total dead to twenty-two.

It was the outrage of the Atlanta Black community that first forced the cops to admit there was a pattern to the murders. And only that sentiment, organized and vocal, will force an end to the killings.



TIMOTHY HILL



**Specialists at Work**—“Economists find Reagan proposal for cutting taxes favors wealthy”—News headline.

**Contagious**—According to a drug company survey, corporate chief execs get more headaches than the overall population. But they don’t suffer alone. One set of records indicated an even higher incidence among secretaries.

**Bon appetit!**—Clams gathered on the coast of Marin and Sonoma counties in California may contain a poison which causes paralysis, authorities advised.

However, they indicated the poison appears to be concentrated in the neck and dark meat, so you’re OK if you just nibble the white meat.

**Freudian slip?**—The Pittsburgh Press ran a story about Gro Brundtland, Norway’s first woman prime minister. However, the accompanying photo, identified as Brundtland, is a man.

**Building East-West ties**—When Gerald Ford visited China, he was received by Deng Xiaoping. The Chi-

nese leader switched chairs, explaining he could hear better with his right ear. “Glad to hear it,” responded our nimble-witted prez.

**See if it levitates**—After catching some of ABC’s new shows, we weren’t surprised to learn that the head of the network had retained a psychic as a script adviser.

**Perfectly rational (I)**—Herman Kahn, the nuke freak, thinks people who see nuclear war as inherently

suicidal are “crazy.” Such people, he explained, fail to distinguish “between an incredibly unpleasant experience and a thing which you can survive. If twenty million Americans were killed, there’d be 200 million survivors.”

**Perfectly rational (II)**—Lawrence Beilerson, a foreign policy adviser to Reagan during the election campaign, said the effects of nuclear fallout are exaggerated. There would be, he says, a 30 percent increase in cancer. But this “could be cancelled out by neglecting to rebuild the cigarette industry.”

## Our Revolutionary Heritage

### 1943: ‘You can’t dig coal with bayonets’

In the opening months of 1943 auto workers in plants making war materiel began a wave of flash strikes in Michigan to protest the increasingly worsening economic conditions they faced.

The U.S. imperialists were engaged in a new war—World War II. Since 1941 the cost of living had risen 30 percent. In 1942 the government’s War Labor Board had imposed a freeze on all wages “for the war effort.” It was called the Little Steel Formula.

Like the auto workers, the mine workers were being squeezed by rising costs. Their contract was about to expire, and they weren’t about to sacrifice for Roosevelt’s war.

John L. Lewis, president of the United Mine Workers, presented the union’s contract demands on March 10, 1943. Speaking for 450,000 soft coal miners, Lewis told the coal bosses:

“Mine workers are hungry. They are asking for food, and if they don’t get it, and if their contract runs out, it is a safe assumption that the mine workers, in the absence of a contract, will not trespass upon your property the first and second of April this year.”

President Roosevelt said the miners had to accept the Little Steel Formula or else. He ordered the War

Labor Board to assume jurisdiction over contract negotiations.

The miners were determined to fight back. On April 24, 1943, the western Pennsylvania and Alabama miners left the pits.

Roosevelt didn’t like that a bit. He telegraphed Lewis on April 29 that he would use “all the powers vested in me as President and Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy” if the strikes were not ended by May 1.

Nearly 10,000 miners in Ohio responded to this threat by leaving the pits. By May 1 every union soft coal mine in the country was shut down.

As Art Preis describes in *Labor’s Giant Step*, this walkout was the largest coal strike the country had ever seen. It was the largest single strike of any kind in the history of unionized labor in the United States.

During the next six months the miners continued a standoff with the coal bosses and the government. Roosevelt attempted every threat in the book to try to get the miners to back down. He threatened to send draft-age miners to the battlefield. He threatened the miners with an order to work under military regulations. And on June 3 he threatened to send in federal troops unless the miners returned

to work. The miners replied: “You can’t mine coal with bayonets.”

Defying Roosevelt’s orders to give up their just demands, one miner explained:

“Going into a mine is no easy thing. Every time you go in, you never know if you’re coming out. If they want to pass such a law on us men, let ‘em pass it. We’ve worked in these mines and risked our lives and damned near at times had to eat grass and frozen apples to stay alive. But we’re still living and we’re still fighting.”

Following a four-month truce, 530,000 miners again walked out on November 1. It was their fourth official, nationwide wartime strike within one year.

Unable to arrest 530,000 miners, Roosevelt ordered a government-negotiated contract, which the miners accepted November 20. It gave the miners \$1.50 more a day. They had cracked the wage freeze, defying the Little Steel Formula.

The miners’ victory, said Preis, “demonstrated as never before the fact that nothing can produce coal—or any other form of wealth—but the labor of workers. When the miners said ‘you can’t dig coal with bayonets,’ they were saying that organized labor, united and determined to defend itself and its rights, is invincible.”

—Priscilla Schenk

## What's Going On

### ALABAMA BIRMINGHAM

**NO MORE THREE MILE ISLANDS: THE FIGHT FOR SAFE ENERGY.** Speaker: Robin Allen, Young Socialist Alliance. Sat., April 4, 7:30 p.m. 205 18th St. South. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (205) 323-3079.

**DEFEND POLITICAL RIGHTS.** Speakers: Lois Tanner, legislative director, Alabama National Organization for Women; Bernie Bray, American Civil Liberties Union; Alison Beckley, fired Lockheed unionist; Willie Mae Reid, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., April 10, 7:30 p.m. 205 18th St. South. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (205) 323-3079.

### ARIZONA PHOENIX

**ATLANTA'S CHILDREN: WHEN WILL THE TERROR END?** Speakers: Clovis Campbell, director, NAACP; Rev. Bruce Hart, Antioch Missionary Baptist Church; Baker, representative of National Organization for Women; Jill Fein, Socialist Workers Party; Gloria Mitchell, Black Student Union, Phoenix College. Sat., April 4, 7:30 p.m. Militant Bookstore, 1243 E. McDowell Rd. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (602) 255-0450.

**EYEWITNESS REPORT FROM NICARAGUA.** Speaker: Agnes Chapa, Young Socialist Alliance delegate to recent international solidarity conference in Managua. Tues., April 7, 12:40 p.m. Memorial Union, Navajo Room, Arizona State University. Sponsor: YSA. For more information call (602) 255-0450.

**UPSURGE IN POLAND: EYEWITNESS REPORT AND SLIDE SHOW.** Speaker: Betsy McDonald, Socialist Workers Party and member, United Steelworkers Local 3937. Sun., April 12, 7:30 p.m. Militant Bookstore, 1243 E. McDowell Rd. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (602) 255-0450.

### CALIFORNIA

#### LOS ANGELES

**L.A. BUSING DECISION: A RETURN TO SCHOOL SEGREGATION.** Speakers: Linda Hunt, American Civil

Liberties Union; Tracey Williams, leader, Students United, Crenshaw High School; representative, Integration Project; Ollie Bivins, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Los Angeles School Board. Sun., April 12, 7 p.m. 2211 N. Broadway. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (213) 225-3126.

### COLORADO

#### DENVER

**LABOR'S FIGHT FOR SAFE ENERGY: NO MORE THREE MILE ISLANDS!** Speaker: Bernie Senter, eyewitness to March 28 demonstration in Harrisburg and member of Socialist Workers Party. Slide show. Fri., April 10, 7:30 p.m. 126 W. 12th Ave. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Denver Socialist Forum. For more information call (303) 534-8954.

### KENTUCKY

#### LOUISVILLE

**CUBA: WHAT IS ITS ROLE AROUND THE WORLD?** Speakers: David Welter, Socialist Workers Party; others. Sat., April 11, 7:30 p.m. 131 W. Main (between 2nd and Main). Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (502) 587-8418.

### MASSACHUSETTS

#### BOSTON

**RALLY FOR WORKERS' RIGHTS VS. SECRET POLICE.** Speakers: Héctor Marroquín, victim of government deportation program; Ann Gilmore, chair, Boston National Lawyers Guild; Mike Maloof, chair, United Transportation Union Local 1473; State Rep. John Bussinger; Crystal Fowler, New England Coordinator, NAACP Youth Council; Mike Schippani, New England organizing coordinator, Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union; John Rees, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Boston City Council. Sat., April 11, 7 p.m. refreshments; 8 p.m. rally. First Congregational Church, 11 Garden St., Cambridge (on Cambridge Common). Donation: \$3.50. Ausp: SWP and Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (617) 262-4621.

### MICHIGAN

#### DETROIT

**MINERS SHOW HOW TO FIGHT BACK.** Speakers to be announced. Sun., April 12, 7 p.m. 6404 Woodward. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (313) 875-5322.

### MINNESOTA

#### IRON RANGE

**A RALLY: STOP U.S. AID TO EL SALVADOR JUNTA.** Speakers: James Oberstar, U.S. Congress, Eighth C.D.; Bishop Anderson, Catholic Diocese of Duluth; Joe Samargia, president, United Steelworkers Local 1938; Sister Corcoran, Catholic missionary, Franciscan Order. Sat., April 11, 2 p.m. Miners Memorial Hall, North Room.

Ausp: Northern Minnesota Committee on El Salvador. For more information call (218) 741-2611.

### TWIN CITIES

**MILITARISM, THE DRAFT, AND THE REVOLUTION IN CENTRAL AMERICA.** Speakers to be announced. Sun., April 12, 4 p.m. 508 N. Snelling, St. Paul. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Twin Cities Militant Forum. For more information call (612) 644-6325.

### PENNSYLVANIA

#### PHILADELPHIA

**STOPPING THE U.S. WAR MACHINE.** Speakers: Philip Berrigan; Rosalind Bresnahan, Delaware Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador; others. Sun., April 5, 7 p.m. 5811 N. Broad St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (215) 927-4747.

## Irish tour

Kathleen Gallagher, a member of the Relative’s Action Committee in Derry, Northern Ireland, will begin a speaking tour in the United States April 9. She will speak on the situation of the political prisoners in the H-Block and Armagh prisons in Northern Ireland.

The tour is being sponsored by the New York H-Block/Armagh Committee. It will begin with a public meeting Friday, April 10, 7:30 p.m. at the Irish Institute, 326 W. 48th St. in New York City.

Information on the tour is availa-

ble from organizers in each of the cities listed below.

April 9-12	New York City (212) 436-4770
April 13	Washington, D.C. (301) 773-3115
April 14	Minneapolis, Minn. (612) 822-0317
April 15-16	Detroit, Mich. (313) 843-8879
April 17	Syracuse, New York (315) 492-1983
April 18	New York City (212) 436-4770

# Letters

**Attack on dockworkers**  
A memorandum from the Coast Committee of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) was recently sent to the Longshore Caucus of the union, warning of new efforts in the U.S. Congress to weaken the Longshoremen's and Harbor Workers' Compensation Act (LHWCA).

The memorandum reported that "Rep. John Erlenborn (R-III.) has reintroduced the amendments to the Act that he sponsored in the last session of the House, and similar legislation is likely to appear in the Senate."

It said, "... maritime employers and their insurance carriers are preparing an all-out drive to cut back LHWCA jurisdiction, reduce benefits, and change the medical process to the detriment of the workers covered by the Act."

This is followed by a curious admission. "Such changes would amount to a complete betrayal of the legislative trade-off made with the shippers in 1972," it said. "In amendments to LHWCA passed that year with the support of all concerned (including the Nixon Administration), maritime labor gave up the right to third-party lawsuits—except in cases of employer negligence—in



through "rose-colored glasses"! There is a gentleman here in Seaside who is one of our council members, Mr. Mel Mason, who a lot of us have gone to school with, and who first sent me a copy of the *Militant* along with a subscription form.

I've probably looked at it for two months now. I realize that sad and depressing situations bring about change for the good. But you do tend to withdraw from facing bad times this old world is having.

The "Black Crusader" Mr. Mason has convinced me that this paper does tell the truth, so I guess you have a new subscriber, at least for a while. P.W.

Seaside, California

exchange for the very improvements in the Act that the industry now seeks to repeal."

This is a clear example of the short-sighted policy of labor-management-government cooperation. In exchange for basic rights of the workers, the employers and their government agents give some minor "concessions" that they expect can be withdrawn at a later date. Meantime the workers and their unions are led to believe that they can rely on the two-party political system to protect them.

That "later date" is here now. The employers and their government are calling back their earlier promises, and we are left holding the bag. This ought to be a lesson to all of us. This same kind of thing has happened in a thousand different ways to all workers

and to the entire union movement in this country.

Instead of making deals with the employers and their hired politicians in the Democratic and Republican parties, working people and our unions ought to build our own labor party and send men and women from the docks and factories and mines to Congress.

We are the majority. We have the votes. We can pass laws to protect us if we take stock of what is happening to us and decide to break away from the political parties of the employers.

A longshoreman  
Seattle, Washington

## Removing the rose-colored glasses

I am a new reader of the *Militant*, as I've only had a few

copies that were on loan to me. I am not sure if I am ready for the *Militant*. I've always had the opportunity to grow up in a sugar-coated society, thinking everyone and everything was always on the up and up! Believe it or not, there are people like me.

I've grown up in a small town on the Monterey Peninsula called Seaside. We're a great mixture of "Heinz 57." Its wonderful people here really do try to help each other and get along.

We're fortunate here, a lot better off than most places in this world. People do look out for each other, no matter what color you are.

So it's very easy to have your head "in the sand" and think the rest of the world is doing their part to get along too.

I am probably guilty, like a lot of people, of looking

## Correction

A phrase was dropped that changed the meaning of one sentence in the article on United Steelworkers District 8 elections (April 3 *Militant*, page 19). Supporters of current District Director Primo Padletti in USWA Local 2610 did not vote down a proposal for educationals and district conferences, but a proposal to have a panel where candidates in the race could present their ideas.

## Letter from the front in Iran

The 'Militant' recently received the following letter from Susan Lyons. She lives in Iran in the region bearing the heaviest blows of the imperialist-backed attack by Iraq.

Readers may recall the coverage in the 'Militant' (May 23, 1980) and in the national media when the State Department tried to bar her from traveling to Iran to join her husband. They had met while he was living in the United States during the shah's rule.

Before leaving for Iran, Lyons, twenty-two, was a steelworker in Birmingham, Alabama, and a member of the Socialist Workers Party.

Living in the Khuzestan province of Ahwaz, I have been able to see first-hand how the Iranian people view U.S. imperialism and its role in the war against Iran by Saddam Hussein. From the first announcements on the radio and television of the attacks on Iran, the people here have been prepared to defend their cities.

It's clear by the many demonstrations and events that the Iranian people see this attack by Saddam Hussein as a threat to the revolution.

The towns here in Khuzestan have been under artillery attack and constant threat of airplane bombing into neighborhoods and the bazaars. They've also been

subject to deliberate bombing of residential areas, such as the nine-meter-long, one-ton missile sent into a housing area in Dezful in the middle of the night.

A large banner was stretched across the bombed area saying, "Didn't Saddam's masters know innocent people were sleeping here?"

The workers, youth, women, the Islamic revolutionary guard and army have all contributed to the fact that Saddam Hussein has still been unable to make any progress here and is now crying for a ceasefire.

The youth are training as soldiers in organized groups, mainly the Jihan (Islamic

reconstruction crusade). They help in getting food and ammunition to the front and building roads for the army.

The women are playing a tremendous role. Not only are they proud to give their husbands and sons to fight, but they organize the work involved in helping the thousands of innocent victims made refugees by the war. They are also involved right on the front lines as nurses risking their own lives.

The factories have become a training ground on the job, organized by the *shoras* (Islamic workers committees). From early in the war, workers have been prepared to take up arms.

Factories from different cities have sent groups of armed workers to the front as soldiers and mechanics. The truck drivers bring supplies to the front lines as well as to the centers set up for the refugees.

The recent second anniversary of the revolution (February 11) was celebrated with demonstrations throughout Iran. The people participated with as much enthusiasm as during the revolution with the main theme being, "Our revolution has grown and become strong. We will fight to the end, and U.S. imperialism cannot stop or bring us backward."

Susan Lyons  
Ahwaz, Iran

## If You Like This Paper, Look Us Up

Where to find the Socialist Workers Party, Young Socialist Alliance, and socialist books and pamphlets

**ALABAMA:** Birmingham: SWP, YSA, 205 18th St. S. Tel: (205) 323-3079. Zip: 35233.

**ARIZONA:** Phoenix: SWP, YSA, 1243 E. McDowell. Zip: 85006. Tel: (602) 255-0450.

**CALIFORNIA:** Oakland: SWP, YSA, 2864 Telegraph Ave. Zip: 94609. Tel: (415) 763-3792. **Los Angeles:** SWP, YSA, 2211 N. Broadway. Zip: 90031. Tel: (213) 225-3126. **San Diego:** SWP, YSA, 1053 15th St. Zip: 92101. Tel: (714) 234-4630. **San Francisco:** SWP, YSA, 3284 23rd St. Zip: 94110. Tel: (415) 824-1992. **San Jose:** SWP, YSA, 44 Race St. Zip: 95126. Tel: (408) 998-4007.

**COLORADO:** Denver: SWP, YSA, 126 W. 12th Ave. Zip: 80204. Tel: (303) 534-8954.

**FLORIDA:** Gainesville: YSA, c/o Adam Shadoff, 1118 NW 3rd Ave. Zip: 32601. **Miami:** SWP, YSA, 1237 NW 119th St. North Miami. Zip: 33167. Tel: (305) 769-3478.

**GEORGIA:** Atlanta: SWP, YSA, 509 Peachtree St. NE. Zip: 30308. Tel: (404) 872-7229.

**ILLINOIS:** Champaign-Urbana: YSA, 1301 W. Green, Room 284. Zip: 61801. **Chicago:** SWP, YSA, 434 S. Wabash, Room 700. Zip: 60605. Tel: (312) 939-0737.

**INDIANA:** Gary: SWP, YSA, 3883 Broadway. Zip: 46409. Tel: (219) 884-9509. **Indianapolis:** SWP, YSA, 4850 N. College. Zip: 46205. Tel: (317) 283-6149.

**IOWA:** Cedar Falls: YSA, Box 352. Zip: 50613.

**KENTUCKY:** Louisville: SWP, YSA, 131 W. Main #102. Zip: 40202. Tel: (502) 587-8418.

**LOUISIANA:** New Orleans: SWP, YSA, 3207 Dublin St. Zip: 70118. Tel: (504) 486-8048.

**MARYLAND:** Baltimore: SWP, YSA, 2913 Greenmount Ave. Zip: 21218. Tel: (301) 235-0013.

**MASSACHUSETTS:** Amherst: YSA, P.O. Box 837. Zip: 01004. **Boston:** SWP, YSA, 510 Commonwealth Ave., 4th Floor. Zip: 02215. Tel: (617) 262-4621.

**MICHIGAN:** Ann Arbor: YSA. Tel: (313) 663-7068. **Detroit:** SWP, YSA, 6404 Woodward Ave. Zip: 48202. Tel: (313) 875-5322.

**MINNESOTA:** Mesabi Iron Range: SWP, YSA, 1012 2nd Ave. South, Virginia, Minn. Send mail to P.O. Box 1287. Zip: 55792. Tel: (218) 749-6327. **Twin Cities:** SWP, YSA, 508 N. Snelling Ave., St. Paul. Zip: 55104. Tel: (612) 644-6325.

**MISSOURI:** Kansas City: SWP, YSA, 4715A Troost. Zip: 64110. Tel: (816) 753-0404. **St. Louis:** SWP, YSA, 6223 Delmar Blvd. Zip: 63130. Tel: (314) 725-1570.

**NEW JERSEY:** Newark: SWP, YSA, 11-A Central Ave. Zip: 07102. Tel: (201) 643-3341.

**NEW MEXICO:** Albuquerque: SWP, YSA, 1417

Central Ave. NE. Zip: 87106. Tel: (505) 842-0954.

**NEW YORK:** Capital District (Schenectady): SWP, YSA, 323 State St. Zip: 12305. Tel: (518) 374-1494.

**New York, Brooklyn:** SWP, YSA, 335 Atlantic Ave. Zip: 11201. Tel: (212) 852-7922. **New York, Manhattan:** SWP, YSA, 108 E. 16th St. 2nd Floor. Zip: 10003. Tel: (212) 260-6400. **New York:** City-wide SWP, YSA, 108 E. 16th St. 2nd Floor. Zip: 10003. Tel: (212) 533-2902.

**NORTH CAROLINA:** Piedmont: SWP, YSA, 216 E. 6th St., Winston-Salem. Zip: 27101. Tel: (919) 723-3419.

**OHIO:** Cincinnati: SWP, YSA, 2531 Gilbert Ave. Zip: 45206. Tel: (513) 751-2636. **Cleveland:** SWP, YSA, 2230 Superior. Zip: 44114. Tel: (216) 579-9369. **Toledo:** SWP, YSA, 2120 Dorr St. Zip: 43607. Tel: (419) 536-0383.

**OREGON:** Portland: SWP, YSA, 711 NW Everett. Zip: 97209. Tel: (503) 222-7225.

**PENNSYLVANIA:** Edinboro: YSA, Edinboro State College. Zip: 16444. Tel: (218) 734-4415. **Philadelphia:** SWP, YSA, 5811 N. Broad St. Zip: 19141. Tel: (215) 927-4747 or 927-4748. **Pittsburgh:** SWP, YSA, 1210 E. Carson St. Zip: 15203. Tel: (412) 488-7000. **State College:** YSA, c/o Bill Donovan, 1240 E. Branch Rd. Zip: 16801. Tel: (814) 234-6655.

**RHODE ISLAND:** Providence: YSA, P.O. Box 1322, Annex Station. Zip: 02901.

**TEXAS:** Austin: YSA, c/o Mike Rose, 7409 Berkman Dr. Zip: 78752. **Dallas:** SWP, YSA, 5442 E. Grand. Zip: 75223. Tel: (214) 826-4711. **Houston:** SWP, YSA, 806 Elgin St. #1. Zip: 77006. Tel: (713) 524-8761. **San Antonio:** SWP, YSA, 1406 N. Flores Rd. Zip: 78212. Tel: (512) 222-8398.

**UTAH:** Salt Lake City: SWP, YSA, 677 S. 7th East, 2nd Floor. Zip: 84102. Tel: (801) 355-1124.

**VIRGINIA:** Tidewater Area (Newport News): SWP, YSA, 111 28th St. Zip: 23607. Tel: (804) 380-0133.

**WASHINGTON, D.C.:** SWP, YSA, 3106 Mt. Pleasant St. NW. Zip: 20010. Tel: (202) 797-7699. **Baltimore-Washington District:** 3106 Mt. Pleasant St. NW., Washington, D.C. Zip: 20010. Tel: (202) 797-7211.

**WASHINGTON:** Olympia: YSA, Room 3208, The Evergreen State College. Zip: 98501. Tel: (206) 866-7332. **Seattle:** SWP, YSA, 4868 Rainier Ave. South. Zip: 98118. Tel: (206) 723-5330.

**WEST VIRGINIA:** Charleston: SWP, YSA, Box 3761. Zip: 25337. Tel: (304) 345-3040. **Morgantown:** SWP, YSA, 957 S. University Ave. Zip: 26505. Tel: (304) 296-0055.

**WISCONSIN:** Milwaukee: SWP, YSA, 4707 W. Lisbon Ave. Zip: 53208. Tel: (414) 445-2076.

# Why won't Atlanta cops find racist killers?

## Mobilizations needed to force gov't to act

By Malik Miah

The inability of the police and Atlanta city administration to arrest the murderers of twenty-two Black youths has led to a nationwide discussion. How could this happen?

The capitalist media claim the deaths are a result of a madman or lunatic.

Papers like the *New York Times* have repeatedly made the racist suggestion that the murders are ultimately the fault of Black parents who allow their children to "wander the streets" and "hustle for money."

The central argument here is that there is no racist bias involved in the killings, and certainly no plot. The deaths are just another example of what happens growing up in America!

But millions of Blacks and other working people see it differently. Their massive outpouring of solidarity with Atlanta is because they believe the murders are racist.

The popular green ribbon is seen everywhere: worn by basketball stars; entertainers; talk show hosts; and most of all, everyday working people.

For example, at the March 28 Harrisburg labor demonstration against nuclear power, a moment of silence was held to protest the murders. People throughout the crowd wore green ribbons or buttons that said: "Stop Racist Attacks" and "Save Our Children."

### No leads?

For more than a year, the Atlanta police have been unable to find even a lead on who is responsible for the murders—at least that's what they claim. All they say is the person or persons involved could be Black or white.

The question of whether the killers are Black is irrelevant. No matter who committed these barbaric crimes, the central point is that the cops have refused to stop them.

Instead, they insist the killer is not a racist. And Mayor Maynard Jackson,



March 15 Atlanta protest. Unions played big role in organizing demonstration to halt child murders.

Militant/Osborne Hart

defending this line, insists the outraged Black community of Atlanta should "lower their voices."

"Racism is not the issue." Haven't we heard that before?

Racist opponents of school desegregation always deny they are anti-Black. They try to cover up by claiming they're just against "forced busing" or the breakup of "neighborhood schools."

These denials come in the context of a racist, antilabor drive emanating from the White House and carried out by every city administration.

Both Democrats and Republicans

agree with this program. Their differences are over how much and how fast to take away what working people have won in the past.

Atlanta is run by Democrats who agree with this overall perspective. Just because the city administration is staffed by Black Democrats doesn't change this.

Like their white friends in Washington who serve the banks and energy trusts, the Jackson administration is obligated to organize attacks on the Black community and unions in the city. Attacks on social services and attempts to weaken unions are just as

common in Atlanta as Chicago or New York.

### 'Black Mecca'?

Thus, it should not be surprising to hear the Black mayor, the Black Public Safety Commissioner, and the Black local politicians deny that racism is an issue in the murders.

To say otherwise would put them on the spot—how can they explain why racism is so strong in the "Black Mecca"? Or why they haven't organized mass demonstrations demanding action by the city, state, and federal

Continued on page 25

## Mass funeral for victim of lynching in Alabama

By Mohammed Oliver

BIRMINGHAM—More than 2,000 Blacks in Mobile, Alabama, attended the March 29 funeral rites for Michael Donald, the nineteen-year-old victim of a racist lynching.

Donald's body was found strung up in a tree in Mobile on March 21. The young Black had been brutally beaten and strangled to death before being hung. The imprint of a shoe heel on Donald's face showed how the noose was tightened.

The outrage and anger over the racist killing is widespread. Dr. Robert Gilliard, director of the Mobile chapter

of the NAACP, immediately blasted the murder as a "racist lynching." Earl Shinhoffer, the NAACP's southeastern regional director in Atlanta, called the killing a "racially motivated lynching." Shinhoffer also called for a federal investigation into the slaying.

Mobile cops claimed there was no evidence that the murder was racially motivated. When asked at the funeral what other motive there could be, one police investigator told the press, "We still have a long way to go."

On March 25, three young white men were arrested and charged with murder.

The three suspects are Ralph Hayes, 23; and two brothers, Jimmy Edgar, 22, and Johhny Edgar, 26. They are each being held on \$250,000 bond.

Government officials in Mobile hope that the arrests will dampen the Black community's anger. That anger, however, may deepen, depending upon developments in the prosecution of the three suspects. Mobile's chief of detectives, Captain Sam McLarty, said, "The investigation is still open. It may still be going on after the April 2 preliminary hearing."

McLarty said that the FBI was called into the case immediately: "I

wanted the FBI there in case there were some civil rights violations."

The FBI is investigating such a "possibility."

Keeping Mobile's Black community in check seems to be the main concern of the police. The cops increased their patrols the day of the funeral. There were, however, no incidents. There's a major campaign on in the big business press to deny the racist nature of the murder.

As in Atlanta, the government wants to cover up the real nature of the crime.